



First in a Four-Part Series

# SHUTDOWN!



**DAVID MOBERG REPORTS  
ON PLANT SHUTDOWNS**

**WHY BUSINESS DOES IT,  
WHO PAYS THE PRICE**

*Illustration by Tom Greensfelder*

**PLUS**

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*Carter faces uphill battle to sell SALT to the Senate*

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*New evidence reveals Ethel Rosenberg was innocent*

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*The first American travelog from Vietnam*

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# THE INSIDE STORY

By David Moberg



Gar Alperovitz

## Stopping inflation without recession

*Inflation is the number one public worry in the U.S. Jimmy Carter's failure to control inflation—not to mention his administration's contribution to inflation by shrewdly boosting the price of all energy to the level set by the OPEC cartel and the major oil companies—may be his ticket back to the peanut farm in a couple of years.*

Public policy on inflation, however, has been dominated by conservative nostrums that hurt working people, even though there is good evidence that low-income people suffer most from inflation. COIN, Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities, was launched last year to provide an answer from the left.

The initiators included Ralph Nader's Public Citizens, the Machinists and Operating Engineer unions, Consumer Federation of America, National Council of Senior Citizens, Environmental Action, National Consumers League and the Community Nutrition Institute, along with the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives (EPEA), the research group whose analysis of inflation has been widely accepted by labor, consumer and other progressive groups.

Since then, many other unions (and the AFL-CIO), as well as civil rights, urban, consumer, environmentalist, religious and citizen action groups, have joined in. On June 27, at the Washington Hilton, COIN plans to conduct a national teach-in on inflation.

Gar Alperovitz, co-director of EPEA, told IN THESE TIMES what he—and COIN—see as the causes and solutions of the current inflation:

**Why has the rate of inflation been so high this year?**

The numbers have been really dramatic. For the first four months of the year inflation in the basic necessities—food, shelter, medical care and basic energy—was running at 17.2 percent on an annual basis. The non-necessities, everything else in the general economy, were only at 7.1 percent.

We've seen these sectors leading inflation for the last decade. This area of inflation won't be solved by recession, cutting the budget or raising the interest rates.

If you go into a recession, you're not going to affect energy inflation, running at 31.2 percent annually, based on the first four months. The President himself, the energy companies and the cartel are raising those prices.

You can create massive unemployment, and you won't significantly alter that inflation. Even Arthur Okun, who did a study of the impact of unemployment on inflation—the so-called "Phillips curve"—estimates that it takes a 1 percent increase in unemployment sustained for three years to reduce inflation by one percentage point. Since we're running at a national average of 13 to 14 percent inflation, to bring it down to 6 or 7 percent is to create sustained long-term unemployment at clearly unacceptable levels.

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**What chance is there that efforts to fight inflation could make the recession even worse?**

The current Carter strategy seems to be a combination of walking on the knife-edge and whistling in the dark. They somehow hope that they can muddle through, to avoid a recession on the one hand and not fall off the knife's edge and, on the other hand, to hope that their symbolic posture plus a very severe attack on real wages will do something about inflation.

**Do you think Carter is doing anything right?**

He has several prongs to his symbolic strategy. One is to cut the budget. The Congressional Budget Office has demonstrated that all of the Carter budget cuts put together won't change inflation by more than one-tenth of 1 percent in two years. Second, there's the attack on health and safety regulations. Even if you eliminated all health and safety regulations, which in the light of Three Mile Island and the DC-10 is patently absurd, the best that you would do is knock seven-tenths of 1 percent off the 13 to 14 percent inflation rate.

Third, raising interest rates and tightening the money supply in the current situation adds more to mortgage costs, inventory costs, purchases of consumer durables. It certainly adds more to costs than it does to control inflation. Fourth, creating a recession doesn't do much good unless you go after the particular sectors.

Fifth, since they've been unwilling to attack the sectoral problems in the basic necessities, they are finding that people see the guidelines—the main prong of the program—as having no legitimacy or equity.

Barry Bosworth, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, has openly proposed in his latest report that labor be made to reduce its income and pay the costs for the administration's failure to control food and energy inflation.

**How would you characterize that policy?**

It's a confession of failure and an even more conservative policy than you got from the Nixon administration. When basic necessity inflation is so great, you're really loading the costs on people who can least afford to handle them.

**There seems to be substantial support in the polls for mandatory wage and price controls. Do you think those would work? To what extent do you think critics are right that they create bottlenecks and distortions that later explode in inflation?**

First, the polls dispel the myth that people are against big government. Every poll shows that the public wants mandatory wage and price controls, rationing and clamping down on energy prices.

People have been far too defensive about wage-price controls. Let's acknowledge that there would be inefficiencies in any program and that you'd need a period of tune-up to get the bugs out of any system. Let's assume that the inefficiencies are of the value of \$1 to \$5 billion. If a strategy of wage-price control and sectoral strategies were fully implemented, then you could put a direct lid on inflation. Then you could run a steady-state, high employment economy. Had we run the economy at merely the Eisenhower levels of unemployment—4.1 percent—for the 20-year period from 1956 to 1976, we would have had \$2.3 trillion in more GNP and \$450 billion in more taxes available. We could have cut taxes.

**What are your strategies in each of the basic necessity sectors?**

Take housing. The baby boom is becoming a family boom. Unless we tremendously expand the investment in housing in this country we will never meet the underlying problems. When you have a shortage of housing, you also get speculating and hedging. Housing requires selective credit controls to allocate more money to the housing market, reduced interest rates on mod-

erate and low-income housing and at the low end expanded investment in public housing. You could add cooperatives or rent control as appropriate in some areas.

In energy, it is really inexplicable to think of the most powerful economy in the world being wagged around not simply by the OPEC cartel but by the intimate financial alliance of the cartel and the multinationals. Breaking the hold of the cartel on our own and Third World energy is really a major priority. Beyond that, conservation, solar, renewable energy resources, mass transit, rail, biomass conversion, co-generation—there's a whole range of things to expand supply and reduce consumption.

**The Agriculture Department claims that food prices are stabilizing. Do you think there's been real progress?**

We are sliding back to a world grain shortage that could jolt the whole system again, and we are the only country in the world that permits temporary world shortages to ricochet through the whole economy. The one key component of a food strategy is to take the export of grain out of the hands of five gigantic private companies and put it in the hands of a public board that exports grain in a way that stabilizes domestic and international costs. Then you add on to that grain reserves. You could tack on to that support programs that would give more stability to the small and medium-sized efficient producers and go after concentration in marketing and processing.

**On the surface, there appears to be a conflict between consumers who want lower food prices and farmers who say they aren't being paid enough. How would you resolve this?**

No consumer group is going to be helped if you drive all of the small and medium-sized farmers out of the market and you end up with highly concentrated corporate farms. Serious programs would involve stabilizing food prices and compensating the small and medium-sized producer directly for inadequacies in income. One way to do that is to take the really incredible profits that have been made by the big grain exporters and "bank" some of those profits in a reserve to help small and medium-sized farmers in bad years.

**A lot of people are bothered by the high price tags put on various bills to provide national health insurance, such as the Dellums or Kennedy plans.**

All the studies indicate that if you put them into effect for sufficient time to begin rationalizing the medical system, the percent of the GNP shifted to medical care declines significantly. I think the Canadians have cut back 3 or 4 percent below us in percentage of GNP for health care.

**Many of your proposals seem to be going against the drift of politicians in Congress and, of course, the White House. How politically feasible are these plans?**

We are in a situation like the Vietnam war with a continued, absolute failure of policy to control something that matters very much to people. Inflation has traditionally been the conservative theme used as a political banner to destroy important programs and groups. What is unique about this new era is that the facts are very clearly on the side of those who argue a progressive solution.

**Will COIN become something more than a paper and press conference coalition?**

I don't think it makes any difference if COIN does. Like the Vietnam war period, the build-up of public knowledge is most important. If we're to get beyond rearguard actions, we will have to speak to broad moral needs that people care about, questions about what should be the priorities of a decent society. In that larger sense, focusing on the necessities of life and the equity or moral issues of whether we produce for need or excess profit is fundamental to the rest of the century. ■

## IN THESE TIMES

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## IN THESE TIMES



President Jimmy Carter and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev

# SALT II is signed at low key summit

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA

**A**FTER SIX YEARS OF TORTUROUS negotiations, the SALT II treaty, placing certain limits on the U.S.-Soviet arms race, was signed in Vienna. On Monday, June 12, President Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev put their signatures to the 78-page text, capping four days of summit bargaining between the two sides. Efforts by both camps to widen the scope of SALT II to gain last-minute advantages for the home team were largely unsuccessful.

Their joint SALT II pact about to be placed before the skeptical U.S. Congress is pretty much the same package that Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA) compared to the Munich "sell-out" of 1938, just prior to Carter's departure for Vienna. The main points are:

- A level of 2,400 strategic missiles or bombers must be reached within six months after the treaty comes into effect, and a ceiling of 2,250 by the end of 1981.

- Within this ceiling, only 1,320 missiles and bombers equipped with multiple warheads or cruise missiles will be allowed to each country, and within this sub-ceiling, only 1,200 land- or sea-based or air-to-surface ballistic missiles and 820 land-based ICBMs with multiple warheads will be permitted to each side.

- Both sides will be allowed to construct only one new type of missile over the period of the agreement.

- Cruise missiles carried by heavy bombers would not be limited in range, while those carried by tactical fighters or ships would have a range of only 366 miles.

- A protocol to the main text restricts both sides from deploying land-based mobile ICBMs, sea- and ground-launched cruise missiles and aircraft-borne ICBMs until after Dec. 31, 1981.

- The agreement will be monitored by U.S. and Soviet spy satellites and "other" intelligence means.

In addition, the Soviets presented a letter in which they agreed not to deploy their swing-wing Backfire bomber against the U.S. from Arctic bases and to limit annual production of the aircraft to current levels (some 60 a year).

When and if ratified by the U.S. Congress, SALT II will remain in force until 1985, when a new round of arms limitations talks is supposed to begin. However, no agreement on a date or terms for the renewed discussions was agreed upon in Vienna.

While Brezhnev, whose failing health was painfully evident, and Carter, whose

political health is little better, occupied the Vienna limelight, the absent "Scoop" Jackson may emerge as the central figure in the parley. For it was clear to all present that Jimmy Carter's political future hangs in large measure on his ability to sell SALT II to Congress, starting with the Jacksonian and other hawks.

Carter's future dilemmas were already evident in Vienna. Faced with Soviet refusal to move beyond the bare bones of SALT II to further concessions, which Carter sorely needed, the President could have played tough, but at the risk of torpedoing the agreement. However, signing the pact poses equally difficult problems. The congressional hawks are sure to bat-

ten onto what they see as the weaknesses of SALT II: coming away with no more than a letter of intent on the backfire bomber, failure to get fixed dates for future consultations on arms limitation, lack of accord on U.S. proposals for regular meetings of U.S. and USSR military brass to discuss defense policies.

As well, there will be criticism of Carter's failure to secure more broadly political concessions from the Soviets in Vienna. An American offer to swap granting of "most-favored-nation" status for Soviet trade goods for a more liberal tack on Jewish emigration seems to have flopped. Nor was there more than rhetorical fireworks on efforts to find peaceful solutions

to conflicts in what both Carter and Brezhnev referred to as areas of "turbulence" (read Africa and the Mideast).

The European reaction to the signing of SALT II has been largely favorable. Misgivings here center on two points. NATO countries are worried that, in the absence of a firm accord on deployment of the Backfire bomber, the aircraft will be based in increasing numbers on Europe's borders. There is also a growing feeling that the issue of arms limitation is too important to Europe's future to be left solely to the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In future, there is likely to be a major diplomatic push for inclusion of the U.S.'s NATO allies in SALT talks. ■

## Treaty may be amended to death

By John Judis

**P**RESIDENT JIMMY CARTER HAS adopted a "realistic," "soft sell" approach toward getting the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) ratified, but current indications are that even impassioned pleas, couched in the rhetoric of Armageddon, would fail to win the needed two-thirds majority in the Senate.

In his June 19 speech to Congress, upon returning from Vienna, Carter praised the treaty for placing "equal ceilings on the strategic arsenals of both sides."

"SALT II does not end the arms competition," Carter said. "It does make that competition safer and more predictable, with clear rules and verifiable limits where otherwise there would be no rules, no limits."

While he reported having warned Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev about Soviet-supported Cuban intervention in Africa, the Caribbean and Central America, he didn't link the treaty's future, in Kissinger-Nixon style, to Soviet or Cuban forbearance.

On July 9, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee begins discussing SALT II. It is not expected to report the treaty out to the full Senate until after Labor Day.

The Carter administration is still predicting a narrow victory, but even pro-SALT lobbyists now concede that the treaty will not be able to be ratified without amendments. The question is whether the amendments will be crippling or innocuous.

Publicly, most senators have still not

taken a position on SALT II. Michael Colopy of the pro-SALT Coalition for Peace through Law could cite "no more than 12 or 13" senators openly for it. According to Colopy, several pro-SALT senators are following the Panama Canal debate precedent of waiting to exchange their votes for political favors from the White House. They are also testing the political waters to assess SALT's support among the public.

Veteran Capitol Hill observer Alan Baron, who writes the insider's newsletter, the *Baron Report*, did make a tally of senators' private inclinations. He came up with the following:

39 strongly inclined to support SALT II  
12 moderately inclined to support SALT II  
19 strongly opposed to SALT II  
13 moderately opposed to SALT II  
17 poised in the middle

In other words, the Carter administration could count now on only 51 of the 67 votes needed for ratification, while opponents already had 32 of the 34 votes needed to block SALT II.

Because most treaty opponents don't want to take the political risk of simply junking SALT II, they will try to amend the treaty rather than defeat it.

Among the amendments currently being discussed are one calling for on-site verification of the treaty and one calling for including the Soviet Backfire bomber in the arsenal of "strategic" launchers. Either amendment would probably cause the Soviets to reject the treaty.

Including the Backfire bomber in SALT calculations would force the Russians to destroy other strategic launchers to stay within the SALT limits. Since the Backfire bomber can only reach the U.S. by

stopping for refueling at Cuba, it is not, strictly speaking, an intercontinental or strategic weapon. If it is included, the Soviets could demand that American bombers capable of reaching the Soviet Union from Europe also be included in the SALT limits.

As for on-site verification, the Soviet Union has never acceded to American or UN demands for inspection of its nuclear facilities. Along with American SALT II advocates, the Soviets argue that satellite, radio, and electronic means of verification are adequate.

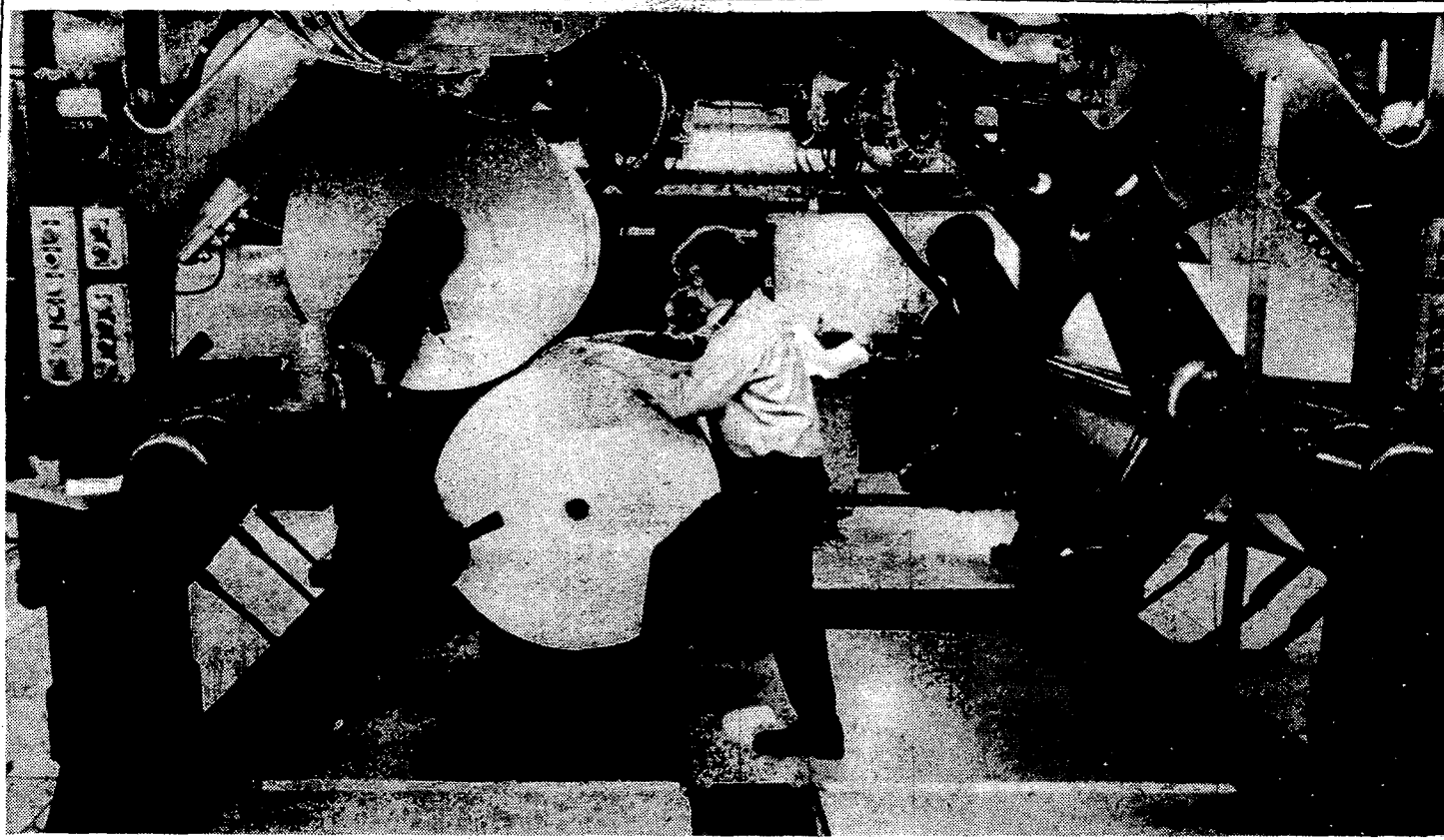
According to Sanford Gottlieb, of the pro-SALT lobby New Directions, the final outcome of the SALT debate will not depend that much on the specifics of the treaty. More important will be the state of Soviet-American relations and Carter's political credibility. Gottlieb expects the Soviets will not rock the boat while the treaty debate is going on, but like other SALT proponents, he has his doubts about Carter's ability to win over the people and the Senate.

A case in point seems to have been Carter's handling of the MX. As Alan Baron noted, Carter could have allowed such key SALT II senators as Howard Baker (R-TN) or Sam Nunn (D-GA) to take credit for the go-ahead on the MX. He might have exacted some promise of support on that basis. But in typical Carter fashion, he acted as if it were solely a question of principle.

As a result, he didn't get any new support for SALT II, and he may have lost the votes of doves George McGovern (D-SD) and Mark Hatfield (R-OR), who feel SALT II is merely legitimating the escalation of the arms race. ■



## IN SHORT



Steve Kagan

## Striking newspaper workers produce their own

**MONESSEN, PA.**—"It's an old union tradition for striking newspaper workers to publish their own paper." This is how Stephen Menzler, chairman of the Monessen, Pa., unit of the Newspaper Guild, explained the origins of *Valley Views*. The 20-page weekly tabloid, whose first issue appeared May 30, is being published by 21 employees of the Monessen *Valley Independent*, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Toronto-based Thomson newspaper empire. The workers have been on strike since April 20.

Although the *Independent* missed two regular publication days when the strike began, management has been able to resume publication with the aid of non-union editorial staff and the presses of the non-union Weirton, W. Va. *Daily News*, which Thomson also owns.

Massive labor and community support has been forthcoming. Monessen (population 15,216) is the home of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation. Starting with District 15 of the United Steelworkers of America, unions throughout the Monongahela Valley have passed resolutions supporting the Guild strikers and pledging a boycott of the *Valley Independent* and its advertisers. More than 500 Wheeling-Pittsburgh rank-and-file steelworkers have signed a petition to the same effect.

Many local businesses have bought advertising space in issue number one of *Valley Views*—including new car dealers, real estate firms, supermarkets and the Monessen branch of J.C. Penney.

The *Valley Independent* has had the dubious distinction of being the lowest-paying Guild newspaper on the continent. The average salary is \$178 a week, out of which workers must pay for 50 percent of their hospitalization coverage. In addition, a Guild shop and job security are major issues in the dispute. Under the old contract the company could lay off any employee, regardless of seniority, using "level of performance" and "relative competency" as criteria.

Monessen is not the only town in which Thomson is experiencing labor relations difficulties. *The Times* of London, another Thomson property, has been on strike since November 1978 in a bitter struggle centering around management's right to "rationalize" the labor process on both the editorial and production side. In an attempt to resume publication of *The Times*, the company bought a printing plant in Frankfurt, West Germany. However, the attempt failed after only 200 copies were printed, when unionized printing trades workers refused to handle "hot cargo."

Despite their labor troubles, Thomson

Newspapers, which owns 70 papers in the U.S., 40 in Canada, and a string of provincial papers in Britain, reported profits of \$56 million in 1978, up 19 percent over the previous year and representing a return on invested capital of 18.7 percent.

Worker-produced newspapers are currently a growing trend in the U.S. The co-operatively owned and produced Madison (Wis.) *Press Connection* grew out of a Guild strike at the *Capital Times*, and the *Wisconsin State Journal*. Striking workers in Wilkes-Barre, in northeastern Pennsylvania, began putting out their own paper, the *Citizens Voice*, after the Capital Cities Communications group brought the Wilkes-Barre *Times-Leader*. After the purchase, Capital hit the unions with 37 pages of "give back" demands when the bargaining contract expired. The *Citizens Voice* appears daily and has a circulation of over 50,000.

For the time being, the Monessen strikers see *Valley Views* as an interim project. As they wrote in their opening lead article, "In essence, we [the strikers] are the *Valley Independent*; the company just owns the equipment but we have the talent and the community responsibility. For this reason, we are extremely proud of our publication and are pleased to be able to serve the people of the Mon Valley once more."

—Joseph White

## NATION

## Klansmen receive jail sentences

**ANNISTON, ALA.**—On the night of Nov. 30, 1978, bullets struck the home of Willie J. Williams, a Sylacauga, Ala., NAACP leader, and shattered windows in his two cars. Last week, Williams was present in Birmingham's U.S. District Court when nine Ku Klux Klansmen were found guilty of committing racial terrorism in the Sylacauga-Childersburg, Ala., area. The charges, all misdemeanors, included the shooting into Williams' home, the home of the Childersburg NAACP leader and the homes of two racially mixed couples. Eight of the nine Klansmen received two-year prison terms while one received a four-year sentence.

The nine Klansmen were among 20 members of a Sylacauga-based Klan chapter who were arrested by federal authorities in April following their indictment by a federal grand jury. Of the remaining defendants, three were acquitted last week by the jury, three have pleaded guilty

to charges linking them to various Sylacauga incidents, and four were released after federal prosecutors decided there wasn't sufficient evidence on which to try them. Another Klansman's verdict has not been released, since, due to illness, he has been unable to receive it in person.

The verdicts, reached by the jury after more than 14 hours' deliberation, disappointed prosecutors who had hoped for felony convictions and more findings of guilty.

\* Yet some interpreted the verdicts as a sign that federal authorities in Alabama are not about to let racist extremists wreak havoc like that wrought in the past.

Said U.S. attorney J.R. Brooks, who prosecuted the Klan cases: "I hope Klansmen and others will know that they can't commit violence and get away with it."

—Tom Gordon

## Legislators oppose storage site

**WASHINGTON**—Legislators representing Hawaii and U.S. Territories in the Pacific have moved to prevent the use of an unnamed Pacific island as a storage site for radioactive nuclear wastes.

The Pacific site, thought to be the small island of Palmyra located about 1,000 miles from Hawaii, would be used to store spent fuel from nuclear power plants in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

Congressional opponents of the proposal claim that natural disasters (earthquakes, tidal waves), common in the area, could cause damage on a nuclear dumping area. They have introduced a bill in Congress that would, if passed, require a full-scale nuclear safety study before the government could continue planning for any kind of nuclear storage dump in the Pacific.

—Zodiac

## Court decision stirs anger

**CLEVELAND**—The dismissal of murder charges against three private guards accused of slaying union picketer Thomas Moss Jr. produced an angry response from Cleveland labor and left circles. Over 400 rallied at the Justice Center on June 15 and demanded an investigation of Common Pleas Judge James J. McGettrick, who issued the dismissal. Chants of "McGettrick must go!" and cries of "Throw the bum out!" also expressed the prevailing sentiment among demonstrators.

Mel J. Witt, president of the Cleveland AFL-CIO, was joined at the demonstration by UAW Region 2 director Bill Casstevens in relating the McGettrick decision to the wide-spread attack upon organized labor in the U.S. Casstevens reminded listeners of the violence directed recently against UAW Local 1741 members in suburban Wickliffe, while Witt called for a renewed organizing effort in the face of deliberate attempts to intimidate labor throughout the country. The morning news, meanwhile, reported that four union picketers had been shot by a private guard in suburban Solon.

The McGettrick decision has revived proposed legislation to ban employers' importation of non-licensed security guards and to set standards for such guards. Cleveland Safety Director James W. Barrett, representing Mayor Dennis Kucinich at the rally, announced that legislation has been sent to council president George L. Forbes with a request for quick consideration. At the same time, Wickliffe mayor Melvin Burchheit announced that similar legislation is under consideration by his council.

Witt has also stated that he will ask U.S. attorney James R. Williams to determine if the three guards in the Moss case may be prosecuted for violating the worker's civil rights. Moss, the father of four, was 39 when killed in January 1978.

A number of jurors polled after the dismissal was issued stated that they were prepared to vote for a guilty verdict.

—James A. Young



Steve Kagan

## HEW says 'no' to medicinal herb

**WASHINGTON**—Despite strong support from the medical profession, the Food and Drug Administration was unable to convince the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to loosen the bans on marijuana so that it can be used for medical research and therapy.

The FDA asked that marijuana be reclassified as a schedule 2 drug, like morphine and cocaine, keeping it under strict control but permitting a medical use.

The HEW report said, "The advisory committee's rationale of facilitating research was not an appropriate basis under the law to relax or change the schedule category on marijuana. Moreover, there is no evidence that rescheduling would accomplish the committee's intended purpose. The FDA and other units of the department have already acted to facilitate research with these substances by other means."

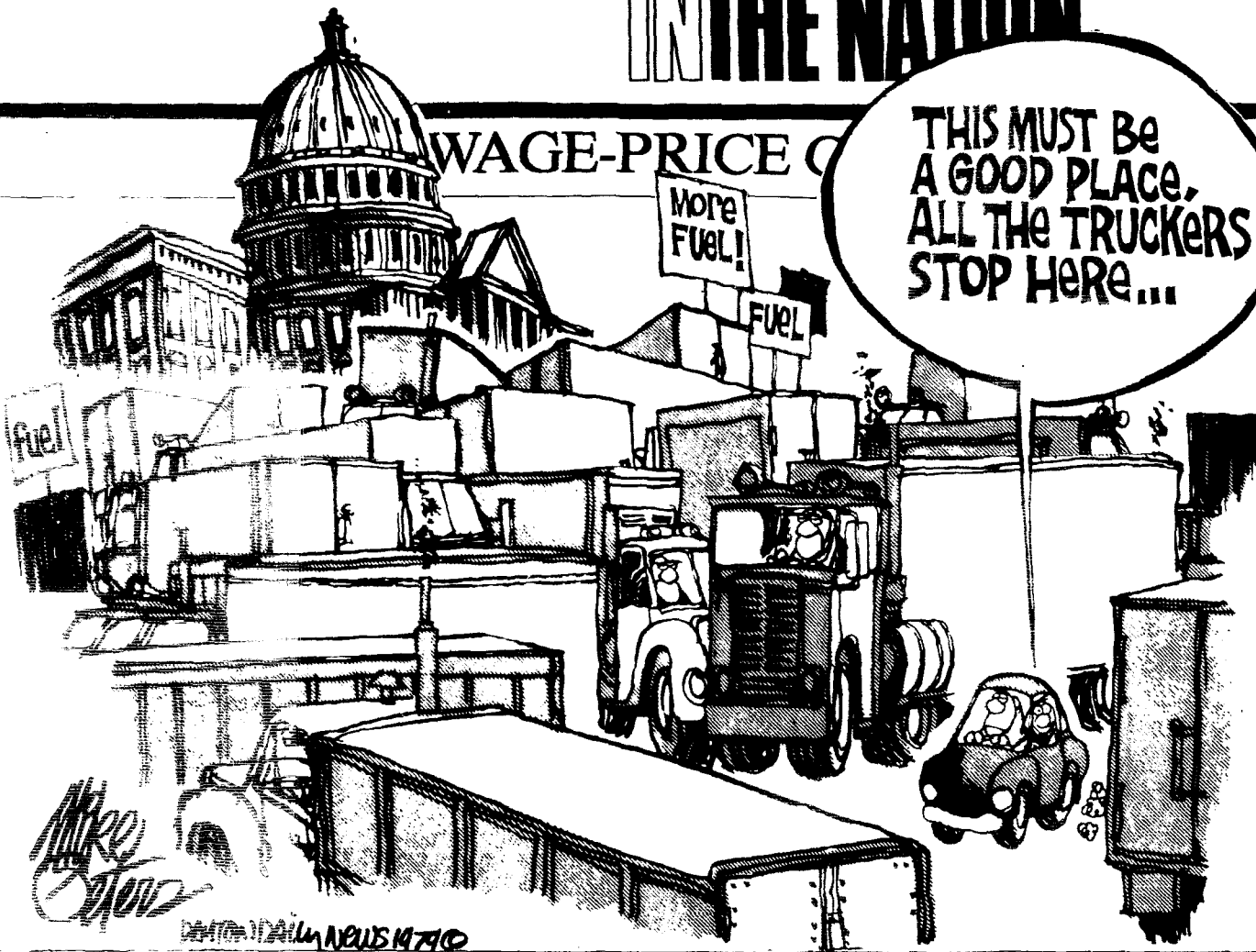
IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci unless otherwise indicated.



## IN THE NATION

## WAGE-PRICE

THIS MUST BE  
A GOOD PLACE.  
ALL THE TRUCKERS  
STOP HERE...



# Labor fights to keep even

By David Moberg

**A**LREADY A FRASTERIC FAILURE at restraining inflation, Jimmy Carter's program of wage controls and working-class austerity is crumbling under assaults from labor, organized and unorganized.

First, a labor lawsuit against the wage-price guidelines knocked out the enforcement teeth. Then the Machinists at United Air Lines, followed by the Rubber Workers, smashed through the guidelines in a way that couldn't even be cosmetically concealed with "guidelines math" such as the administration used to make the Teamsters' retirement appear to be within the 7 percent constraints.

As the Teamsters tried to extend the terms of their Master Freight Agreement to the car haulers, the specialized drivers who transport new autos, they ran into rebellion and wildcat strikes. Even the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, weakened at the bargaining table by competition in the industry, managed to negotiate new contracts that were within the guidelines only through special calculations for back-lip. Carter's own employees—the workers for the federal government—turned out by the thousands in protests across the country against their declining real income.

To cap it all off—for the moment, at least—angry independent truckers in the West and the South, plus in other parts of the nation, turned off their ignition keys, pressured other drivers to stay off the road, clogged truck stops, blockaded refineries and prepared for a nationwide shutdown of all trucking by owner-operators starting midnight June 20.

Caught in a desperate squeeze as fuel supplies have been cut back and as diesel prices have shot up in recent months from 55 cents to 90 cents a gallon, the truckers wanted higher rates to cover costs and a variety of federal reforms that they have pushed for several years. Their actions have deeply disrupted deliveries, especially of food, in many parts of the country and have also affected some industrial operations.

All of these rebellions against the Carter administration, major corporate employers, the oil companies and, in some cases, union leadership have one element in common: workers are drawing determination not to take a cut in their standard of living in order to fight inflation, especially when there's no evidence that inflation is slackening or that their sacri-

fice would even stem the rise of most prices.

## Prospects are dim.

The Carter administration is at the same time making its own determination to reduce workers' living standards even clearer. The Council on Wage and Price Stability, in an inflation update report issued on June 13, warned against any attempt by workers to catch up with inflation by boosting wages, even though it acknowledged that real wages have fallen.

Prospects for the future are dim, too. During the first quarter of this year, new labor contracts offered a median wage increase of 8.2 percent for the first year, but inflation was running at an annual rate of 13 percent. Workers with unions are having a hard time under such conditions, but unorganized workers are generally acknowledged to be suffering much more substantial losses.

"What they're saying is take a cut in your standard of living," says Dick Greenwood, special assistant to Machinist president William Winpisinger, who recently pledged again to ignore the wage guidelines in future contracts. "It all started last fall with the tax reform bill. Everything that's being done in the economy has been to 'remove disincentives to savings,' that is, favor savers. That means everyone else gets the short end of the stick. It's pure, unabashed economic class warfare. The kind of redistribution of income is just tremendous."

The rapid rise in gasoline prices and decontrol of oil by Carter are major components of that redistribution. The chaotic rebellion by the independent truckers is their way of telling Carter that they won't shoulder the burden. Whether their demands are for the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to grant higher rates or for the government to roll back fuel prices and increase allocations, the independent truckers seek relief from the extreme cuts in their income brought about by the Carter and oil-company energy policies. Even the ICC estimates that 20,000 of the roughly 125,000 independent truckers may have gone bankrupt so far this year.

"We can't absorb this," Paul Dietsch, treasurer of the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH), says. "We are trapped in the administration's guidelines. Carter has control of our rates with the ICC. We've got soaring costs and they're trying to make us eat it. They should make GM or Exxon eat it."

Dietsch says that the trucker action first started with a CB enthusiast from Mis-

souri by the name of Blackjack Stevens. His call for a convoy of trucks to descend on Washington stirred up Mike Parkhurst, the publisher of *Overdrive* and head of the Independent Truckers Association. Both Parkhurst and the newly-formed Independent Truckers Unity Coalition, led by FASH president William Hill, called for a strike starting June 21, even though a fairly thorough shutdown was already underway without any leadership.

## Truckers want 10 percent increase.

The ICC at first offered a 5.6 percent rate increase, then 6 percent, in an attempt to stem the trucker protest, but most truckers are demanding at least a 10 percent hike. They also want uniform regulations on weight and length, federal truck licenses and full diesel fuel allocations. Many truck drivers are also calling for higher speed limits, rollback of oil prices and a variety of other regulation changes. FASH leaders will be pressing other independent trucker groups to join with them in a demand for nationalization of the oil companies.

"We say the oil companies are running the country, and we're asking our politicians to put them back under control," Dietsch says. He expected the trucker shutdown to be "much larger than in 1974" and to draw more public and labor union support.

There were angry truckers of another sort in Lordstown, Ohio, last week, where about 700 car haulers went out on a wildcat strike against both Anchor Freight and the Teamster union. They were protesting inadequacies of their new contract and Teamster procedures for ratification, such as mail ballots, ratification by only one-third of the members and continued work without a contract. In an unusually large angry meeting on June 18, they voted to stay out despite an injunction against their strike. In a show of defiance, they overwhelmingly supported decertification of the Teamsters and affiliation with the United Auto Workers, although that move would be legally difficult.

Many of the nation's 25,000 car haulers were angry with labor-management review committees that set sub-contractual cut rates for certain runs, with company practices of extending their runs with extra pick-ups and deliveries, and with practices that undercut job security by permitting sub-leasing while drivers are laid off. All of these work rules threaten car haulers' income.

The wage-price guidelines that have been rejected from the beginning by most

of organized labor as unfairly redistributing income to capital were shot down on May 31 by federal district judge Barrington D. Parker, who ruled that they were really mandatory—and hence exceeded Executive power—because of the provisions for blocking government contracts for violators. Although the government is appealing the decision, has continued to urge compliance and has even cited a few corporate price violators for the first time, most of organized labor seems to share UAW president Douglas Fraser's view that the judge drove the nail in the guidelines' coffin.

The Council on Wage and Price Stability criticized the United Airline settlement of roughly 34 percent over three years with the Machinist union, won after an eight-week strike, as probably out of compliance with the guidelines. It was clear that the airline mechanics didn't care what COWPS said. Twice they had rejected contracts brought by union leadership because they wanted more protection against inflation. The votes were probably influenced by coincidental separate announcements on each ballot day of United's profits (up by 237 percent in 1978) and dividends.

## Rubber workers in the lead.

After two months on strike against Uniroyal, the rubber workers were sweeping the industry with a contract that could boost wages and benefits by as much as 40 percent, although other estimates are closer to 30 percent. In any case, it was the most dramatic rupture in the guidelines and a victory for the union in other important areas. They won guarantees of six months notice for closing of a factory or major operation and the right to negotiate both measures to save the plant and the way the closing is handled. Also, workers' hospitalization insurance would be continued and retirement options were liberalized.

In addition, in the pattern settlement won at Goodrich—then extended to Firestone and Uniroyal—the companies promise to be neutral in any organizing drives. (Goodyear, the last of the big four, was expected to balk at the neutrality pledge.)

Those provisions are important for the union, which has seen many of its old factories shut down and jobs transferred to nonunion facilities in other parts of the country.

In another significant advance in labor's fight against inflation, the Rubber Workers won a new formula for calculating cost-of-living adjustments that they believe will give nearly 100 percent recovery of earnings. (Workers will get 1 cent an hour increase for each 0.25 increase in the consumer price index instead of for each 0.3 increase, the formula prevailing in the best industrial union contracts.) That should guarantee that the UAW will stick with its demand for such a reformulation in auto talks coming this fall.

Rubber Workers president Peter Bommarito had angrily maintained that the Uniroyal strike was provoked by the wage guidelines and by government interference. There was a settlement on April 19, but then the company backed off as a result of federal pressure, he said. The company denied it, but in the contract they acknowledged the substance of Bommarito's charge.

Even in shambles, however, the guidelines will continue to be used by employers against non-union workers and against weak unions to hold down wages, but the battle over distribution of the nation's income—whether it involves the price of labor or the price of commodities like oil and gasoline—has clearly been escalated. Since Carter continues to rule out requests for mandatory wage and price controls and since the administration seems convinced that workers have to lose ground in order to slow inflation, the remaining tools most likely to be seized by Carterites for the job include the old and unreliable standby, recession. ■



## THE ROSENBERG CASE

Ethel was framed  
in atom bomb trial

By James Weinstein

ON JUNE 18, 1953, AT SING SING prison in New York, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were electrocuted for allegedly passing the secret of the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. Last week, in a *New Republic* article, Sol Stern and Ron Radosh charged that the FBI and government prosecutors had no evidence of Ethel's complicity, and that she had been executed in an attempt to force Julius to talk about the existence of an alleged postwar espionage ring.

The most important piece of evidence that Ethel was framed is the sole question mentioning her in a 13-page memorandum, dated June 17, 1953. The memorandum lists questions that FBI agents were to ask Julius if he broke at the last minute. The question is: "Was your wife cognizant of your activities?"

"That single question," Stern and Radosh write, "stands out like a red flag. When it was composed by a top FBI official, Ethel Rosenberg was about to be executed as a 'full-fledged partner' (trial judge Irving Kaufman's words) in what J. Edgar Hoover called 'the crime of the century.' Could the U.S. government have let her die when they weren't even sure she was aware of Julius' espionage activities?" Stern and Radosh ask.

"Sadly, the answer is yes," they conclude.

But while their article contains the most convincing evidence yet made public that the government had no case against Ethel, and probably induced David and Ruth Greenglass to testify falsely against her, it will give little comfort to those who have

asserted that the Rosenbergs had nothing to do with espionage. For Stern and Radosh also conclude that Julius was probably a key figure in a postwar network that was gathering information for the Soviet Union.

Most of their article is concerned with evidence that supports the hypothesis that such a network existed, and that Julius Rosenberg was a key figure in it. They do not dispute the contention that David Greenglass gave Rosenberg information pertaining to the atom bomb, but they point out that even if he did, Klaus Fuchs had earlier given much more accurate and useful information to the Russians, including a sketch of the bomb that was more detailed and informed than that offered in evidence by the barely literate Greenglass.

After his trial in Britain, Fuchs received a 14-year prison sentence, and served ten, for giving this secret to the Russians. He had told the FBI about his espionage activity before the Rosenbergs were arrested in 1950. So the U.S. government knew that Rosenberg could not have passed "the secret of the atom bomb" to the Russians, even while it prosecuted him for doing just that.

On the basis of material in the 200,000 pages of documents on the case released by the government under the Freedom of Information Act and on interviews with several dozen witnesses, including James Weinstein, the editor of *IN THESE TIMES*, Stern and Radosh infer that Julius Rosenberg was "at the hub of an espionage network that continued to operate until his arrest in 1950." All the new evidence they amass of Julius' espionage activities relates, however, to the period after the war, not to the wartime espionage of



Fernand Leger's poster commemorating Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

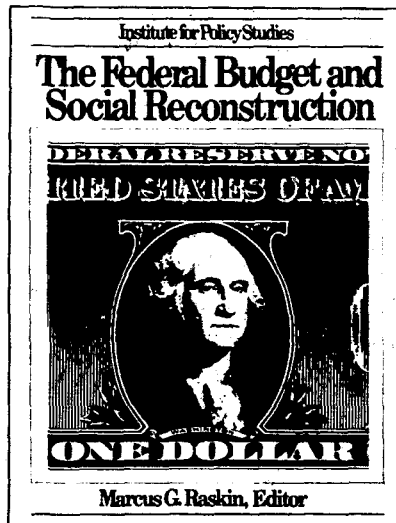
which the Rosenbergs were convicted.

Their evidence does not exonerate Julius, as it seems to do with Ethel. But they do assert, on the basis of letters written by David Greenglass in 1943 and 1944, that the Greenglasses were not innocents who were induced to commit espionage out of respect and love for Julius, which is what the Greenglasses testified at the 1951 trial. On the contrary, Stern and Radosh imply that Greenglass alerted Rosenberg to the fact that an atom bomb was being created at Los Alamos, and that he was eager for Julius to have this information. This flatly contradicts the government's case.

Stern and Radosh believe that the government's primary interest, at least initially, lay in uncovering postwar espionage activities of which Julius was alleged

to be a part. They quote J. Edgar Hoover as writing to the U.S. Attorney General that "if Julius Rosenberg would furnish the details of his extensive espionage activities it would be possible to proceed against other individuals." Hoover's solution was simple: "Proceeding against his wife might serve as a lever in this matter."

On the postwar period, Stern and Radosh infer that Rosenberg and others of his acquaintance were Communists who dropped out of the party to do work for the Russians. They assert that several of the people they interviewed support this interpretation, and they quote three sources that support their thesis. The assertion of the editor of the *New Republic* in his introduction to Stern and Radosh to the effect that, at last we know the truth in this case, is an exaggeration.

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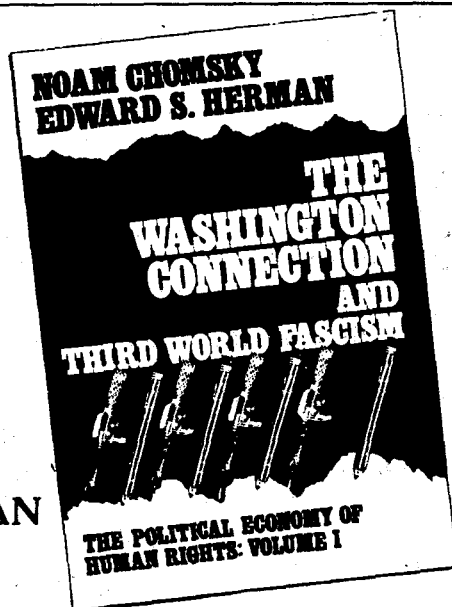
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## ABORTION

# The Hyde Amendment comes up again

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

**T**HIS WEEK THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES is debating the HRW Labor Appropriations bill, with its annual restriction on the use of federal funds to pay for abortions. Called the "Hyde Amendment" for Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL), who first successfully attached it in 1976, it provides only limited exceptions to the prohibition. Consequently, abortions funded by Medicaid are only 1 percent of what they were before 1975.

For the past two years the exceptions—representing a compromise between the House and a more liberal Senate version—have permitted abortions where the life of the mother was endangered, rape or incest was reported, or continued pregnancy would result in severe physical health damage to the woman. Most of the remaining 9 percent of Medicaid abortions are funded under the latter two provisions.

On June 5 the House Appropriations Committee recommended that these two exceptions be removed, which would eliminate the few abortions now funded under Medicaid. Attempts by Rep. David Obey (D-WI) to minimize the exceptions twice failed by a single vote. According to the National Abortion Rights Action League, the only lobbyist allowed in the Committee room while the issue was being debated was Mark Callaghan of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. NARAL also reported that two members, John M. Slack (D-WV) and John W. Jarette Jr. (D-SC), who had voted with Obey the first time, were persuaded by William Matcher (D-KY) to stay on the House

floor until after the second vote was taken.

In anticipation of a rancorous debate in the House, pro-choice groups organized a lobbying day on June 18, and an interreligious service on the Capitol steps to present "An Appeal to Congressional Conscience" to pro-choice Sen. Robert Packwood (R-OR) and Rep. Louis Stokes (D-OH).

The appeal petitioned Congress "to restore full funding for abortion services" in respect of "the right of economically disadvantaged families to make decisions about abortion in light of their own consciences and religious beliefs."

After the presentation, about 50 members of the clergy, dressed in their clerical robes, descended on Rep. Hyde's office to present the petition to him. A secretary said he was on the floor and suggested the group reassemble there. At the Capitol, the police would allow only two members inside to present a written request that Hyde talk with the group. Brenda Bergman of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights wrote Hyde a note on the back of a card, and when Hyde emerged tried to steer him outside the Capitol.

Showing no surprise at the group's composition (his office had called to warn him), Hyde insisted he would speak with only a few representatives in a nearby House conference room. As several dozen clergy, and a few other pro-choicers, gradually drifted in, Rev. Bea Blair presented the appeal to Hyde, who engaged the group in debate.

Not unkindful of a half dozen members of the press, Hyde shook his finger at a nearby clergyman and said, "I'm for everyone following the dictates of their conscience. But a constitutional right to something does not give a constitutional



Fifty members of the clergy lobbied against the Hyde Amendment last week.

right to have the public pay for it." Most of the 30-minute exchange was about when a fetus becomes a person, despite Hyde's repeated disclaimer that "I don't go to the Church for biology."

Brenda Bergman summed up the feelings of the group when she told Hyde that "the clergy here don't want to change your mind, but they don't want you to impose your beliefs on them." Hyde's response was to point out that that's what one used the political process to do.

The only other life issue touched on was a brief mention of capital punishment. Hyde distinguished his support of this from abortion by saying that if a "fetus were tried by a jury of its peers, and found guilty of murder with malice aforethought, I would say, 'abortionists, do your work.'" He added, "I want to protect innocent life—not guilty life."

When the House buzzers called Hyde back to the floor for a vote, he asked the *Time* magazine photographers for a set of prints. "I can make good use of them," he said, offering to pay for the photographs. "They make me look good."

Throughout the debate several people argued that a woman must have control over her reproductive functions in order to have control over her own life. Hyde ignored this point, beyond asserting "we ought to pay more attention to programs that will let a woman keep her child."

When Hyde emerged after voting, IN

THESE TIMES asked him what legislation he had sponsored to make it easier for parents to raise children, especially those who might be unwanted. He said he was a supporter of Birthright (a group urging adoption over abortion) and voted against his party to support the HEW budget.

"But what legislation have you sponsored," ITT repeated. "Well, I'm really not on the right committees to sponsor social legislation," he replied. "Mine are Judiciary and Banking." These committees don't consider HEW-Labor appropriations either.

Asked about his support for child care, Hyde emphasized his opposition to more federal programs, but added that he wanted "every working woman to have it available if she needs it—if it's really necessary for a woman to work." Pushed to define "necessary," he explained that he believed in the traditional family, but that "a woman should work if there is no other breadwinner around." Nonetheless, her "first duty is to her kids."

ITT asked if he would have supported the Cranston child care bill, which was withdrawn last winter after the administration testified against it in Senate subcommittee hearings. Hyde declined to answer, saying he "wasn't fine-tuned to social legislation." As he returned to the floor, ITT suggested he might want to become so, "because we'll be back again with more questions."

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## ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT

## Texas killing and attacks alarm activists

By Harvey Wasserman

**A**NTI-NUKE ACTIVISTS IN TEXAS are alarmed by a series of violent acts against them. While there has been no evidence yet to directly connect their activities in the anti-nuclear movement to the violence, there is strong suspicion that the two are related.

The most dramatic incident was the killing in Houston of one and wounding of another activist in mid-April, two weeks after one of them had helped organize two demonstrations at the Balcones research center.

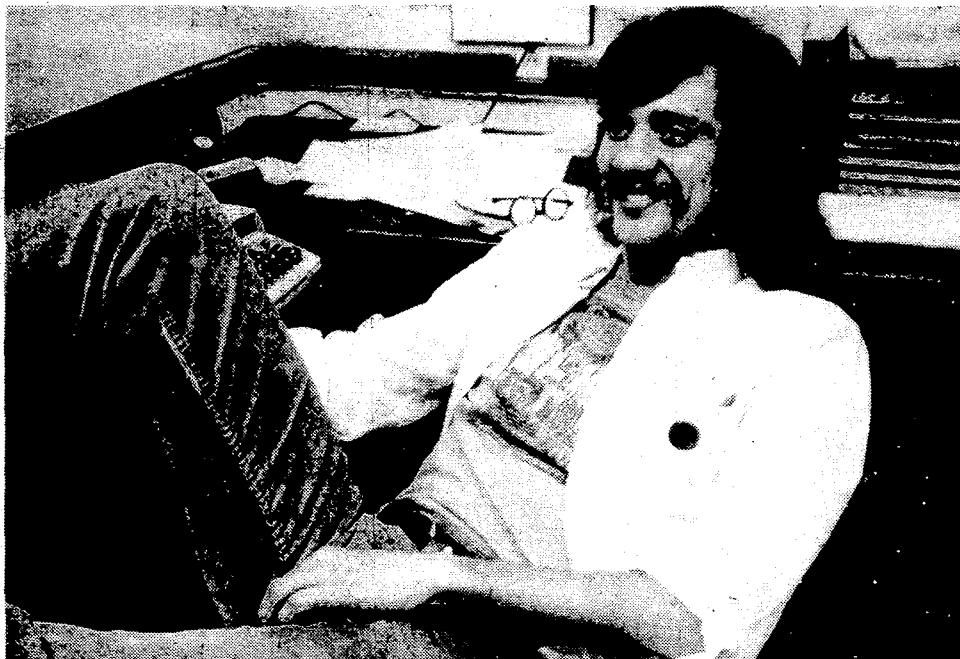
Michael Eakin and Dila Davis were ambushed as they climbed into Eakin's car parked in a dark and quiet residential street near the Texas Opry House, where they had attended a concert.

Eakin, 28, former editor of the University of Texas newspaper, the *Daily Texas*, the nation's largest college daily, was founder of the *Austin Sun*, a local weekly. He was an active organizer of anti-nuclear demonstrations and frequently wrote on the subject of nuclear power.

Davis, 42, a colleague of Eakin's, was seriously wounded in the assault. She is a technical editor at the Applied Research Laboratories in Austin, which shares facilities with the Balcones research center, which supervises the only radioactive waste dump in Austin.

According to Davis, their assailant(s) pumped four to six bullets through the driver's side window. Eakin was hit in the arm, chest and throat; Davis was hit in the jaw. "They must have been waiting for us," said Davis.

Eakin died six hours later in surgery. Davis was hospitalized, but doctors decided against trying to remove the bullet from near her spine.



Michael Eakin, former editor of the *DAILY TEXAS* and an anti-nuclear activist, was killed in Houston in April.

Davis and other activists believe Eakin's death was a "nuclear murder." It is being compared to the 1974 death of nuclear worker Karen Silkwood.

"There is no doubt," said Jeff Jones, a longtime local activist and former president of the University of Texas student body, "that there is an organized campaign going on here to scare off the anti-nuclear movement. The atmosphere is heavier than it was during Vietnam. It is very likely that this murder was a part of that campaign."

Houston police have theorized that the shootings may have been a case of mistaken identity or of random violence. There were seven murders in Houston the weekend of the shooting. Officer John Barnes of the homicide division said "all rumors" will be investigated.

But Eakin's fellow activists say that

the context in which the shooting took place strongly suggests a nuclear motive. "We've been waging a very successful campaign down here," said Tod Samusson, a member of Texas Mobilization for Survival and a friend of Eakin's. "I think the industry must feel threatened by us. Michael might well have been on to something, or it might have been an attempt to get us to lay off, but there's a strong possibility that the shooting was related to our activities."

Austin anti-nuclear activists allege that a campaign of violence and intimidation has been waged against them since January. Samusson claims he was beaten in an Austin parking lot on Jan. 22 by a man who had been peeling a "No Nukes" bumper sticker from his car. He says he was attacked another three times between February and April, and that his house

was broken into in March and again this month, three days after the largest anti-nuke action in Texas, for which Samusson served as coordinator. He claims he has also received anonymous threatening phone calls.

Other nuclear opponents in Austin, Dallas and Fort Worth claim there have been nearly a score of beatings, tire slashings, threatening phone calls and other acts of intimidation aimed against them.

At the time of the shooting, Eakin was researching a story on Mexican oil, according to Jim Hightower, editor of the *Texas Observer*. But according to other sources, he was also following up a rash of stories about alleged faulty inspection procedures at the South Texas nuclear project at Bay City, a twin 2,500-megawatt Westinghouse project being constructed by Brown and Root.

The South Texas project has been the subject of continued controversy, including allegations that plant inspectors have been harassed by their employers, and fired. One inspector was shot and killed in his rented home shortly after being fired. The assailant proved to be the owner of the house, who said he thought the inspector was a burglar. No charges have been pressed.

However, the incidents and charges prompted Representative Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio to write a letter to U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell requesting an investigation of the shooting and other allegations.

Eakin was an active member of an environmental coalition that narrowly lost an April 7 local referendum calling for an end to Austin's 16 percent municipal ownership of the South Texas project. The measure lost by 936 votes out of more than 51,000.

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## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE U.S.

"CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME, BUT YOU HAVE TO KNOW THE PLAYERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GAME AND THE REALITY THAT IT REFLECTS. THIS POSTER IS THE SIMPLEST AND CLEVEREST MEANS TO HELP EXPLAIN THE CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. TODAY. A MUST FOR ANY RADICAL TEACHER..."

— Bertell Ollman, Marxist scholar and inventor of the "Class Struggle" game

The Social Stratification poster is a graphic presentation of the U.S. population by income, occupation, family status, race and wealth. Much of this information is talked about in the media and classrooms. However, the series of numbers, percentages and median figures that are cited are confusing and near impossible to relate to one another. Our purpose is to overcome this comprehension problem by combining the data into a clear graphic format.

Making this information accessible is an important political project. The concept of "America as a middle class society" is widely used and politically charged. It conveys the image of a vast clump in the middle with few at the extremes of great wealth or poverty. Overcoming this illusion and making people confront differing social conditions and status is a crucial first step toward political awareness.

But there is another need for making this information accessible — the contemporary U.S. left has operated without a developed class analysis. Phrases such as "the industrial working class", "aristocracy of labor", and "new working class" have appeared and contended with one another without a clear presentation of the facts involved. One cause for this confusion has been the isolation of the left from the real conditions and concerns of most Americans. Hopefully, this poster will stimulate both further investigation and more focused political activity.

"THERE IS A CRIPPLING LACK OF INFORMATION NOT ONLY IN THE PUBLIC AT LARGE BUT AMONG STUDENTS OF ECONOMICS WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THE BASIC FACTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THIS ATTRACTIVE POSTER GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD REMEDYING THAT DEFICIENCY. I AM HAPPY TO RECOMMEND IT WHOLEHEARTEDLY AS A TEACHING ADJUNCT."

— Robert Heilbroner

The poster measures 35" x 45" and uses eight colors to represent occupation and labor force status. Different figures are used to portray husband/wife couples, single people, and single heads of household. Household figures show what each member does and are placed on the poster according to their 1978 annual income. An accompanying 40 page booklet gives the detailed methodological and statistical information.

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# IN THE WORLD

## NICARAGUA

### A leader of the new rebel government talks about the war

According to a report by the CHICAGO TRIBUNE June 16, when a small contingent of American Marines took position beside the National Guard at the U.S. embassy in Managua, it received an order from an American official: "Remember, it's their war, not ours yet, so no shooting unless ordered."

The Marines, dressed in combat gear and carrying pump shotguns, are assigned to the embassy in Managua, according to Linda Pfeifle, a member of the State Department's Nicaragua Working Group that has been brought together to deal with the "emergency."

Pfeifle told ITT that there is nothing abnormal about the presence of Marines in Managua. "Almost all American embassies have a detachment of Marines," she said. "When there's danger, they appear in combat dress." Pfeifle claimed that the Marines in Managua numbered no more than the usual 11 "needed to provide 24-hour guard" to the embassy. After office hours, she explained, the Marines normally perform simple tasks like answering the phone.

—Joshua Kornbluth

By Victoria Schultz

**M**Y TREK WITH THREE OTHER journalists through the liberated zone in Managua to meet some of the top leaders of the Nicaraguan insurrection was palpable proof of the peoples' uprising in the capital.

The first barricade at an intersection leading into the liberated area was a maze of deep trenches with small burrows on the sides for protection against the constant aerial bombardment by Somoza's propeller-driven push-pull planes.

Some 20 young Sandinistas carrying an assortment of small weapons were guarding the place in a seemingly unorganized manner. For many, the only sign of a uniform was a black beret with a stripe of red ribbon, the colors of the Sandinista liberation movement. After a lot of hesitation and warnings of the dangers ahead, mainly because of National Guard snipers and the bombing, we were given an unarmed guide to take us to our appointment.

We passed dozens of barricades, ran across open space, crouched block by block with bullets whizzing by. Stretching across what only a week ago had been one of the city's main roads, the barricades were truly impressive.

There's a certain irony to the fact that, indirectly, President Anastasio Somoza, whose overthrow is the insurrection's primary goal, contributed to constructing the solid barricade. Somoza has forced all the communities in the country to pave the road not with asphalt but with paving blocks made in a cement factory owned, as are most of the other business enterprises in the country, by the Somoza family. Now these blocks provide ideal building material for the construction of a liberated area.

In addition to building the barricade, the Sandinistas have dug deep trenches all over the area. There were still quite a few civilians around. It seemed surreal to see a woman sitting calmly on the front steps of her house, crocheting as push-pull planes were rocketing the area, and a din of shooting was constant in the background.

An old man sat by a window and greeted us courteously as we passed. The Sandinistas have organized food distribution to the area and we saw people lining up to get the day's ration.

#### Meeting the leaders.

Our trek ended abruptly as we were ushered into a wooden building no different from the dozens of others along the dirt road where we had been running. Inside, we were introduced to three representatives of the national executive board of the Popular Unity Movement (MPU) and the Broad Front (Frente Amplio), both left political coalitions.

One of them was Moises Hassan, a 37-year-old civil engineer and university professor, educated in North Carolina. He is also one of the five members of the newly formed provisional government for national reconstruction.

They welcomed us cheerfully to the liberated zone, which they defined as an area controlled both politically and militarily by the Sandinistas. It is located in a strategically important place, between the airport and a hill where Somoza has his famous bunker surrounded by the headquarters of the National Guard. The main road to the airport is now completely blocked by the zone, which I would say consists of a third of the city's most populous section.

A rather hirsute Hassan in a dark blue shirt with colorful whirls was very proud of the work that had been done in a matter of days. He said the almost superhuman task of digging the trenches and building the barricade brick by brick would not have been possible without the intense, tenacious and continuous participation of thousands.

Inside the liberated zone there are Sandinista militia formed "in the heat of the struggle." Large numbers of young and old people have taken up whatever arms they've found—pistols, .22 caliber rifles, shotguns, molotov cocktails, home-made contact bombs and even machetes and hunting knives—and come to the barricades, Hassan explained, emphasizing the insurrectional nature of events in Managua and the country.

"We don't have to ask these people to join the struggle, rather we have to hold them back because at the moment we can't go into the final battle with small caliber arms. People are complaining that we're holding them in the trenches and not launching the final combat," Hassan said.

#### "It's not a civil war."

Hassan was also emphatic about the fact that the war in Nicaragua is not a civil war. "This is a situation in which self-elected Somoza, and a few families close to him, and the National Guard are waging a war against the whole people. And now the people have risen."

The liberated zone, we were told, was surrounded by well-trained Sandinistas, the true combatants, armed with machine guns, bazookas and other heavy weapons, to prevent the National Guard from penetrating in force into the area, at least in any other way than from the air. In this zone, the leadership says there is a definite front line.

Elsewhere in the city there are insurrectional areas. One of the leaders ex-



An officer in the National Guard, which is waging a war against the whole people.

### This is no civil war, says Hassan, but one of the Nicaraguan people against Somoza's family and friends.

plained, "In Managua we are combining different forms of combat. Many barrios are insurrectional; though you see the guardsmen patrolling the streets it doesn't mean very much because they can be destroyed at any moment. In those areas there are no fixed fronts."

One such neighborhood is Monsenor Lezcano. After the local police station had been sacked and burned down, it was under Sandinista control for a few days with dancing and singing in the streets. Then the National Guard overran the place, mainly by bombing its civilian population.

The aftermath was a nightmarish sight. Charred bodies that the Guards had burned lay in the streets, the stench of the dead buried hastily under piles of the Somoza family paving blocks, and people telling tales of horror.

The Nicaraguans have suffered so long they no longer weep in public. But in Monsenor Lezcano, one middle-aged man shed tears as he told how the top of a young man's head had been blown off as a mortar shell landed in his back yard.

In the midst of all the destruction, one man took me through the ruins of the police station and with a certain satisfaction pointed to a cell where he said he had once been kept for five hours. Although the Guardsmen were back in the street, at least one of their strongholds was gone. A small victory, but one of the many that daily fire the revolution.

When I asked Hassan about the inhabitants of the liberated area, he said that many people have moved, for the duration of the bombing, to other areas. But many have stayed and are protecting them-

selves. Hassan showed me a bomb shelter ten feet deep built in the back yard and covered with the multi-purpose paving blocks. A little girl was playing inside, sitting on a mattress.

#### Hassan a socialist.

Hassan, who considers himself a socialist, saying he's quite ready and willing to work with Marxists, is probably the only one of the five members of the Provisional Government now inside Nicaragua. Therefore, he said, he doesn't know if the structure of the new political body has been determined.

The Provisional Government consists of three members directly tied to the Sandinista struggle and two bourgeois groups (the Broad Front and the Democratic Union) that haven't actively supported the fight. Hassan pointed out that it was very important for these to be included if the revolution and the reconstruction of the country were to succeed. "After the overthrow of Somoza we'll inherit a country in ruins and the participation of all sectors will be needed."

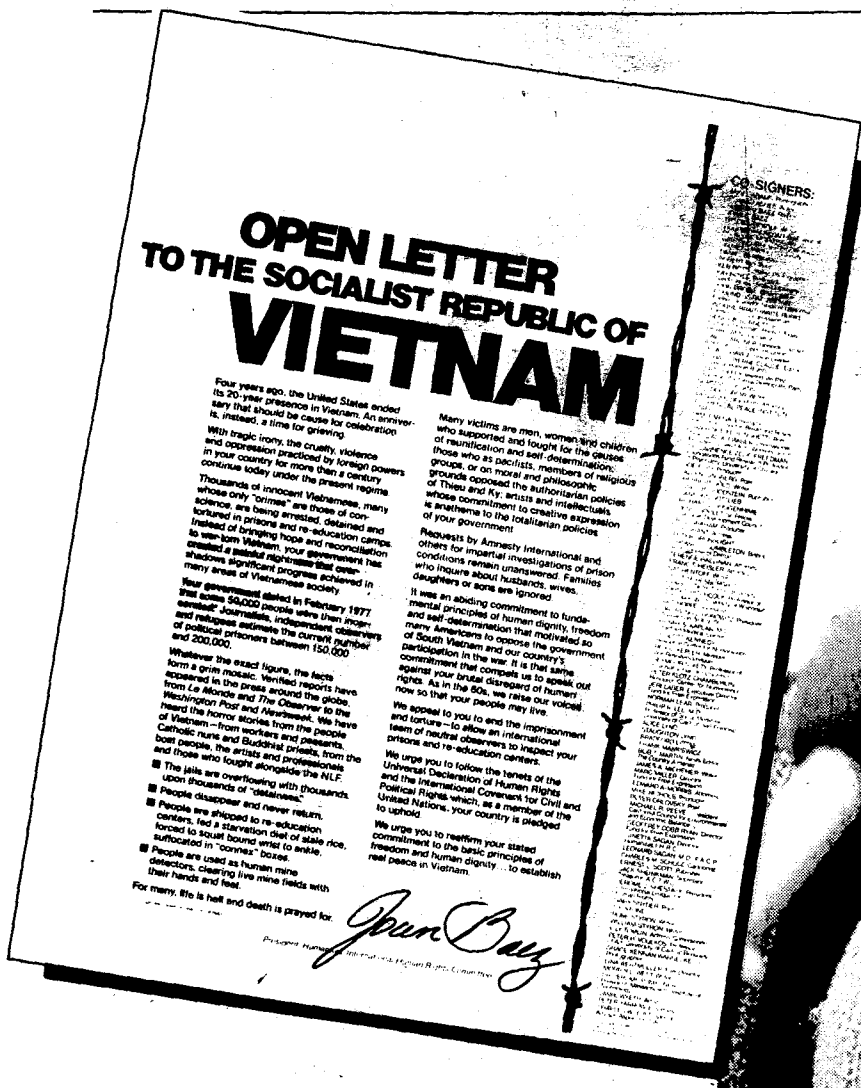
Hassan gave the Provisional Government some two to four years to handle the transition, after which the Nicaraguans would elect the government they wanted. He said that during that time all ideologies should be represented, except Somoza's Liberal Party that Hassan termed as nothing more than "a group of bandits that has been robbing the country since the late '30s."

"We want to create a Nicaraguan solution, which I think will be some form

Continued on page 10.



## BAEZ LETTER



triotic Intellectuals, traveled to the Soviet Union as part of a delegation of Vietnamese intellectuals in May 1978.

The Center's research raises strong questions about Toai as a credible witness. During a tour of the U.S. in January and February 1979, he apparently presented himself as a former peace activist who had been jailed by the Thieu regime for his opposition to it. Toai was an officer of the anti-Thieu Saigon Students Association and was arrested in 1969. However, he was released two weeks later.

Toai's then-colleagues now say, according to the Center, that he became a government agent after his release. In a letter to "Overseas Compatriots in Switzerland" dated Aug. 7, 1978, Huynh Tan Mam, former president of the Saigon Students Association, detailed a long list of charges against Toai in 1970 and 1971. These include acting as an informant for Thieu's police and misrepresenting the views of the Saigon Student Association during travels abroad when most of the student leaders were in prison.

Confirmation is available for the last of these charges, the Center says. Toai toured the U.S. in 1970 and 1971, claiming to represent the Saigon Students Association. He made no contact with the American National Students Association (NSA), which had been in regular touch with the Saigon Students Association. And in public meetings he opposed Thieu but called for the withdrawal of all North Vietnamese troops from the South as a precondition for cutting off U.S. aid to Thieu. The Saigon Students Association had consistently demanded an unconditional end to U.S. support for the Saigon regime.

Then, Winnaker states, NSA staffer Doug Hostetter visited Vietnam in late 1970 and questioned Huynh Tan Mam about Toai. Mam told Hostetter that Toai was a government agent and did not represent the Saigon Students Association.

In public interviews since her ad appeared, Baez has defended Toai, saying she sent a private investigator to Paris to check his story. At the same time, she insists that other sources corroborate Toai's account of conditions in Vietnam, although the only documentation she has provided comes from the same Paris refugee circles as Toai.

Nat Hentoff, in the *Village Voice*, while defending the Baez letter with detailed accounts of Doan Van Toai's testimony, along with others of better credibility, notes that the worst conditions in prison camps in Vietnam are described as those "in what are called fourth-category camps for former senior officers and members of intelligence services under the previous dictatorships."

## The left divides on the truth about Vietnamese oppression

By Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

**A**N "OPEN LETTER TO THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM" circulated by Joan Baez and signed by 83 members of the entertainment industry, writers, well-known anti-Vietnam war leaders, and labor leaders, published as a full-page ad in six major newspapers on May 30.

The letter charges the Vietnamese government with the same "cruelty, violence and oppression practices by foreign powers in your country for more than a century." It states, "Thousands of innocent Vietnamese, many whose only 'crimes' are those of conscience, are being arrested, detained and tortured in prisons and re-education camps.... Journalists, independent observers and refugees estimate the current number of political prisoners between 150,000 and 200,000."

The letter charges the Vietnamese government with imprisoning "thousands upon thousands" and mistreating, starving, and torturing many of them.

Signers of the letter include Edward Asner, Daniel Berrigan, Robert Bly, Cesar Chavez, Douglas Fraser, Allen Ginsburg, Nat Hentoff, Rev. T.M. Hesburgh, Norman Lear, Staughton and Alice Lynd, Mike Nichols, I.F. Stone, Lily Tomlin, Peter Yarrow and others equally well-known.

The letter asserts, "Requests by Amnesty International and others for impartial investigations of prison conditions remain unanswered."

At Amnesty International's London office, the head of the Asia desk was unavailable because of illness, so that the most recent development in the organization's efforts to send a mission to Vietnam were not forthcoming. However, Richard Reoch, head of the press office, told *ITT* that the statement in Baez's ad is "substantially true." Reoch added, "Since the details of the re-education program became clear to us in '76, we have made continued efforts to get permission from the Vietnamese to go in there and talk directly to the government and make the inspections. But on the record, which is all I have access to presently, because the head of the Asia desk must be away, we have so far not received a reply." But, Reoch continued, "there may be develop-

ments that have not been recorded. I will inform you of them as soon as the head returns to the office."

The letter cites as the sources of its accusations "verified reports" in such publications as *Le Monde*, the (London) *Observer*, the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*.

The Southeast Asia Resource Center, a research and educational organization originally formed in opposition to the Vietnam war, accuses Baez of playing into the hands of the Senate hawks who are "singing 'Soviet menace'" to undermine SALT II. Martha Winnaker, speaking for the Center, says, "Baez's portrayal of Vietnam as hell on earth adds an important harmony line to the anti-communist chorus. The image of socialist governments as brutally repressive is an essential component of any campaign to whip up widespread anti-Soviet feeling."

Winnaker raises strong doubts about one of the main sources of the accusations against the Vietnamese government and apparently the major source of Baez's information. Baez told Winnaker that she became "aware of the magnitude of the Vietnamese government's violation of the fundamental principles of human dignity and freedom," after talking with two Vietnamese refugees, Don Van Toai and Nguyen Huu Hieu. The international press has widely quoted Toai's charges of mass imprisonment and torture in Vietnam.

While the Center offers no evidence to discredit Hieu, they provide reason to question the credibility of Toai.

A "Manifesto on Human Rights," that Toai claims was signed by eight prominent opponents of the former South Vietnamese regimes and read on the steps of the Saigon Cathedral on April 18, 1977, was excerpted by Baez for circulation to potential signers of the ad. According to Toai, six of the signers of the manifesto were arrested on the spot and one of them passed it to him in prison.

Winnaker states that Professor Ton That Duong Ky, identified as Vice President of the National Liberation Front, who is listed as a signer and reported by Toai to be imprisoned, was visited in his Saigon home last August by Paul Quinn-Judge, a Quaker who formerly worked in Vietnam and knew Ky's wife.

Ky apparently expressed strong indignation at Toai's use of his name. He also told Quinn-Judge that he and Nguyen

Van Hieu, the Minister of Culture, had laughed together when they heard that their names had been listed in Paris among those languishing in prison. Hieu visited Syria as a special envoy in May 1978.

In a letter produced by the Center to "Vietnamese Compatriots Overseas" dated June 16, 1978, Ky wrote: "They have dared fabricate such a story to the effect that I have signed a declaration betraying our regime. Well, if that declaration has any truth in it, I want to see what technological level the U.S. has reached in the art of forging signatures."

Toai has apparently never produced a copy of the manifesto. He told a *Washington Post* reporter that he smuggled the document out of Vietnam in his rectum but lost it during his journey to Paris.

Another alleged signer of the manifesto, Professor Pham Bieu Tam, identified as Vice President of the Association of Pa-

## Sandinista interview

Continued from page 9.

of socialism; we'll have to try to adapt different structures to our country's realities," Hassan said.

In the liberated zone we also talked with two members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front military high command. They outlined the basic military positions of the insurrection. The southern front is a focal point, with a great number of Sandinista combat troops coming across the Costa Rican border to the city of Rivas. The National Guard has moved most of its troops in to the area to prevent the fall of Rivas, the provincial town where the Provisional Government could set up its headquarters.

### Leon under Sandinista control.

In northern Nicaragua, many provinces are at least partially in the hands of Sandinistas. Leon, the country's second city is now apparently completely under Sandinista control, with a young woman leading the military operation. Fighting is continuing in the central part of the country, shifting from one neighborhood, village and town to the next as the guerrillas attack and then retreat.

"All our forces will finally converge on the capital, where the last battle will

be fought," one of the military leaders said.

The Sandinistas have the people's overwhelming support and participation on their side, but the National Guard, consisting of some 10,000 soldiers, has superior fire power and an airforce. But the Sandinistas claim they have destroyed ten push-pull bombers and one helicopter.

The morale among the National Guard is reported to be shaky. Many have deserted, and others are very much afraid. Reserves have been called up. You now see old men in uniform patrolling the streets. The wounded are also sent back out still clearly sick.

But the hard core elite of the National Guard continues robbing, murdering, torturing and plundering with as much gusto as before.

What will happen to the National Guard once the struggle is over, I asked Hassan. He said that those who have not directly been responsible for assassinations, torture and genocide will be able to stay, since, for many poor people, the only way to make a decent living has been to join the National Guard. "But those we call dogs and who are directly connected with the torture and genocide will be tried by the people."





# SHUTDOWN!

# Shuttered Factories, Shattered Communities

BY DAVID MOBERG

**L**EN BALLUCK WAS DISCOURAGED, bitterly discouraged. A few months ago he had hopes that the old Campbell steel mill of Youngstown Street and Tube would reopen again under worker-community ownership. He and his fellow workers might have their jobs again.

From his own experience of 20 years in the mill and from the studies made by various experts, he was convinced they could make the mill an economic success and prove that their factory had been scuttled by the exploitative mismanagement of the Lykes conglomerate, not by inevitable forces of the market, nor by Japanese competitors, nor by environmental regulations.

Sitting in the Isaly's ice cream shop in Struthers, where he regularly shares the news of the community with other steelworkers and local hardhats over his morning cup of Seneca, Balluck condemned the recent federal government rejection of the request by the Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley for a \$27 million grant and guarantees of \$245 million in loans to reopen the mill.

"We had high hopes of getting 1,600 jobs back," he said, referring to the first phase of the reopening. "Then we got turned down by Washington. Jimmy Carter will have to bear the burden of that. The people at Isaly's say he hasn't done enough for this valley. Don't even come around here talking to me about Jimmy Carter."

Balluck had organized several hundred of the 4,100 laid-off steelworkers into Steelworkers United for Employment (SUE) after complaining last fall that the Ecumenical Coalition, which has led the fight to reopen the mill, failed to mobilize the steelworkers for the project. It hadn't been easy. Many of the former workers were skeptical about the plan and its clerical sponsors. Others were just listless and depressed. Nobody wanted to get his hopes up only to have them crushed again. Balluck knew how precarious many of their lives had been since the sudden September 19, 1977, shutdown.

"I can tell you about the drinking, the suicides, the psychiatric wards," he said. "I can tell you all these things."

One friend who was making \$24,000 a year as a skilled worker now works as a laborer for \$11,000 a year. He's comparatively lucky. While calling for support for SUE, Balluck heard the mother of one young worker explain that her son's benefits had run out last December. The pressure of still having no job got to him. Now he's in a mental hospital. Two people Balluck knew killed themselves. Nearly a quarter of those laid off had retired early with reduced benefits.

Few of them are willing to talk about their hardships. They're the sort of people, according to a survey taken by a team from the local university, who find it hard to ask other people for help. They're the sort of people who, despite their anger at the Lykes Corporation and at Jimmy Carter, still blame themselves somewhat for not having a job.

It's tough finding a job in the Mahoning Valley now. Over 9,000 people applied when the local General Motors assembly plant at Lordstown announced it would accept applications. As of late last summer, 80 to 90 percent of the laid-off workers were still in the Youngstown area and only 35 to 40 percent of them had found jobs. Some still have benefits coming, but by now nearly all of the financial cushion has vanished.

That financial aid—unemployment compensation, supplementary unemployment benefits and Trade Readjustment Assistance—"was a pacifier, welfare," Balluck says. Although it made life almost comfortable for a while, it also undermined the workers' sense of urgency and thus hurt the movement to reopen the mill.

But the shocks keep coming. By the end of this year, the Brier Hill steelworks, employing 1,100 people, will also close, according to the directors of the LTV Cor-



Johnstown Tribune-Democrat

poration, the new owners. Soon the U.S. Steel Ohio and Macdonald Works may also be abandoned, throwing 4,000 more workers on what Balluck calls, "the industrial garbage pile."

Across town, in the union hall of Local 1462 of Brier Hill, William Vaughan, a 35-year-old black steelworker who had been in the mill for 15 years, talked about what he would do when his job ended. "I want to find a half-way decent job, maybe go to college and get a B.A. degree so I'll have something to fall back on. I know one thing, I'm not gonna get another job like the mill, work 15-20 years and lose my job again."

"I thought about leaving Youngstown three or four times," he said. "But I've lived here nearly all my life." In theory, Vaughan is supposed to be as mobile as capital, shifting with the opportunities. But like so many workers faced with shutdowns, Vaughan saw Youngstown as not only a place of employment but above all as a home and a community to live in.

Although his wife's part-time job will help out in supporting the three kids, Vaughan's impending loss of his job will hit his family in more than its pocketbook. "My father was just getting to the point where he could do something with his life," Kenny, a top student and athlete in high school, said. "He had some extra money to take trips, pay for college. Now it means I have to get a scholarship. I never thought things like this could happen, that management could say, 'You've got 15 years in the mill. Now we're shutting it down.'"

## The High Cost of Closings

**M**ORE PEOPLE ARE DISCOVERING WHAT Kenny Vaughan has now learned at an early age. Business shutdowns can wreak havoc with the lives of individuals and the well-being of communities. Of course, businesses have failed in the past. Or they have shifted from one region to another. Because of lack of appropriate statistics, it's hard to say definitively whether the frequency of shutdowns has increased or not.

The awareness of the consequences of factory and other business "terminations" is changing, however. The Youngstown closing and the fight to keep the mill open, unsuccessful as it now appears to be, have heightened the sense of public urgency and of the possibilities for action. Similarly, there has been a growing interest in legislation to provide advance notice of shutdowns and to compensate workers and communities for the

loss, stimulated by the work of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIO).

Although "runaway shops" and "disinvestment" have been on the lips of activists in northern industrial cities for many years now, there is a greater sense of urgency now as the scope of the issue widens. Partly that is a result of the steadily worsening impact of conglomerate and major corporate investment decisions on the economic vitality of hundreds of communities. Partly it is a result of a drearier general economic prospect. No longer is there the same faith that new industries will arise to replace those that have closed up shop, since the entire economy faces a period of uncertainty and slow growth.

"The broadest, most fundamental starting point is the clear assessment that the postwar boom is really over," says Gar Alperovitz, director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives, which supervised the develop-

ment of the Youngstown community-worker ownership plan. "Second, no one believes there will be a 'return to normalcy.' Therefore, you can't simply allow short-term dislocation. People begin to say, 'What can we do?' The context has changed."

With that changed context and changing perception comes the possibility of a new political thrust that could radically transform the U.S. economy. There is a growing awareness of the life-and-death power that capital has over communities and individuals, and of how there is no democratic accountability for the exercise of that power.

The new movement beginning demands greater public control over investment decisions, financial capital and choices of business location. It demands that public needs be considered alongside the private balance sheet. It points in the direction of decentralized planning in the interest of local economic vitality.

"It is very narrow to look at the issue only as plant closings," Alperovitz argues. "The issue is community economic health. It's a much broader question. It's partly plant closings; it's partly new entrances; it's partly expansion."

"In order to give us a broad enough vision and a strong enough moral posture, the issue is the health of American communities, not just one plant closing. That's also the way people see it."

Yet it is usually a factory closing that jolts people into a new awareness, partly because manufacturing is often the center of community economic life, providing the "export" income that helps to stimulate other local businesses.

The community often feels diffusely that an implicit contract has been broken. Not only the suddenly jobless workers but other businesses, their employees, local government and other public institutions have relied on the bigger businesses. They pay dearly for the closings. Then some people realize that there was no need for the sudden shutdown. Even if the business died for "natural" reasons—such as inability to compete profitably—communities could plan for the death's effects with proper notice.

But often the community loss reflects a decision that is only rational from the viewpoint of a single corporation intent on expanding its profit, size and power, even if that means unnecessarily destroying factories and communities in the process. Especially with the growth of conglomerates and their special strategies there is an increasingly stark choice: win greater democratic control of capital or accept greater domination of society by capital.

When a factory dumps wastes in a nearby stream, other people pick up the tab: loss of clean water, destruction of fish and wildlife, decline of recreation areas, illness and even death, costs of cleaning up after the corporation. Thanks to the environmental movement, there is a growing recognition in the law and public opinion that the costs of maintaining a healthy environ-



# SHUTDOWN!

ment should be assumed by the firm and not treated as an "externality."

When a factory closes down after years of operation, there are also many costs to the workers, other local businesses and their employees, urban institutions and local government, and taxpayers throughout the state and nation. Taking all those costs into account can lead to a much different view of the economic rationality of a plant closing. Yet those costs are regarded, as environmental costs were in the past, as external to the business balance sheet.

The most immediate costs are borne by the laid-off workers. Because of their unusually high unemployment benefits—in large part a public cost—the workers at Youngstown suffered less than many workers would have. Yet especially because they were in a highly-paid, unionized industry, their long-term earning prospects for the future are grim.

Economist Louis Jacobson, in research for the Labor Department, estimates that workers in those industries with low turnover—usually those with high earnings, unions and predominantly male workforces as well, such as steel and auto—suffer most from plant closings.

On the average, workers in such industries will lose the equivalent of about two years' earnings—roughly \$30-35,000—in the first five years after the shutdown. Over their working careers, they will lose 10 to 15 percent of what they might have earned. Although older workers may be severely hurt financially because they are forced to retire early, Jacobson finds that workers with three to eight years seniority lose most in the long run because their loss affects more working years.

## Conglomerate vs. Community

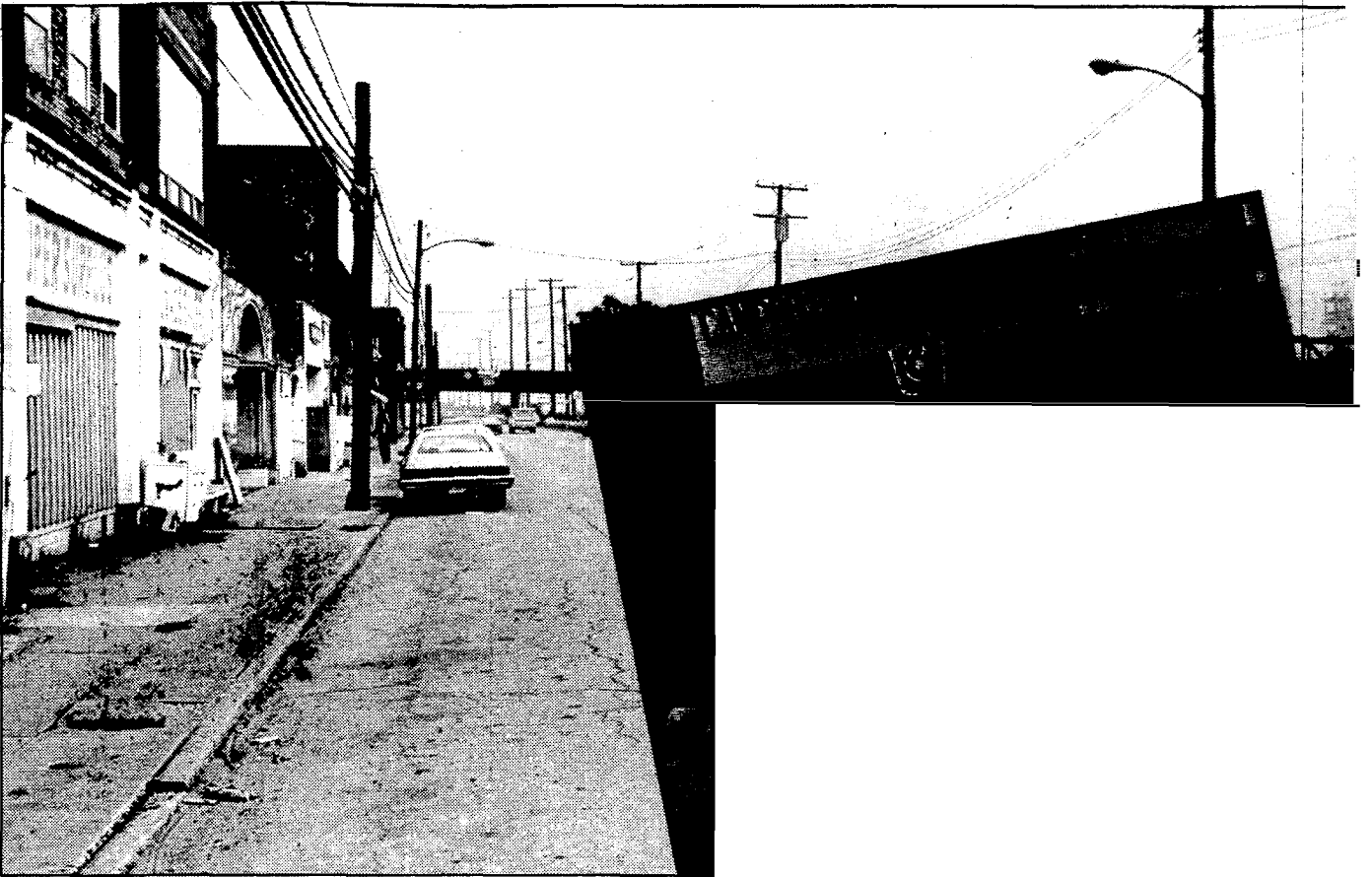
**W**HEN THE SHUTDOWN OCCURS IN A labor market with high unemployment, or in a small labor market—typical of Youngstown and many other older industrial cities now facing repeated plant closings, the losses are even greater. If unemployment is one-third greater than the national average, the loss can double in a given year. Seeking jobs in a small labor market again boosts the loss. The figures worsen by half again if all the men who drop out of the labor market are included. So steelworkers in a small, depressed community might suffer earnings losses of 30 to 50 percent as a result of a shutdown if these effects are compounded, not counting loss of above average benefits.

After a factory closing, many women typically drop out of the labor force. If we count their loss of earnings along with the loss of women who return to other jobs after a layoff, then women as a group suffer proportionately higher earnings losses than men. Men in high turnover industries are more likely to be out of work from time to time, to accumulate fewer seniority benefits and to work in less-skilled jobs than men in low-turnover industries. These men—in fields such as cotton weaving, television and electronic component manufacture, toys, clothes and shoemaking—lose proportionately less than men in autos, steel, meatpacking, aerospace or petroleum refining, Jacobson reports.

Workers can, of course, move at their own expense, often taking a loss on their investment in their home. Since young people are most likely to move, the community future is hurt also. But family and community ties hold many workers. A study of Youngstown Sheet and Tube workers by Policy Management Associates (PMA) indicated that only one-fifth were thinking of leaving. It's not surprising: 77 percent of them had lived in the area over 20 years and only 16 percent had been born more than 200 miles away.

When a factory shuts down, the effects quickly spread—to suppliers, to retail businesses, to wholesalers and transportation firms, and to various service agencies. The PMA study estimated that an additional 1,650 to 3,600 jobs would be lost in the Youngstown area as a result of the Campbell works shutdowns. Other studies have estimated the indirect job loss at 11,199 to 13,000. Using the PMA estimate, indirect job losses would cause a retail sales drop of \$12.2 to \$23 million each year, pushing the total sales lost to the range of \$66 to \$102 million a year.

These costs exact a collective public toll as well. The same PMA study estimated that in the first three-and-a-quarter years after the shutdown, local communities around Youngstown would lose up to \$7.8 million in taxes, the county would lose \$1.1 million, the state up to \$8 million and the federal government up to \$15.1 million—a grand total of between \$26.8 and \$32 million.



Paul Schell

At the same time the cost of the various relief programs—mainly Trade Readjustment Assistance—would run between \$34.2 and \$37.9 million. By this accounting, the public loss from the shutdown could reach nearly \$70 million in slightly over three years.

But even these sums of direct public and private expenses due to a plant closing are inadequate measures. A massive shutdown or a series of smaller closings can disrupt the fabric of the community, upsetting the network of local business transactions and precipitating failures, threatening the quality of public services such as schools, and undermining civic institutions (corporate and payroll contributions to the Youngstown United Appeal, for example, dropped by nearly half in the first year after the shutdown). Especially in a small town, a factory closing can destroy the focus and meaning of community life as a whole.

But the most tragic part of plant closings shows up in the stories traded by workers in the Isaly's of industrial America—the stories of depression and despair, of broken spirits, of broken marriages. They show up, too, as statistics in scientific studies and social work agencies. Yet even there they are understated. As Sidney Cobb and Stanislaw Kasl remarked in their conclusion of a study of physiological and psychological effects on two plant closings, "In the psychological sphere the personal anguish experienced by the men and their families does not seem adequately documented by the statistics of deprivation and change in affective state.... The numbers don't seem commensurate with the very real suffering that we observed."

Yet the statistics are bad enough. They found increased frequency of ulcers in the laid-off men and their wives, greater likelihood of future heart ailments and diabetes, greater hypertension and more swollen joints. Most of the men compared the experience of the factory closing with the stress of getting married (midway on a scale of life events where 10 equals a traffic ticket, 80 divorce and 100 death of a spouse), but over one-fourth found the experience as shattering as divorce or more so. It took most close to half a year to recover, but as time went on those who were still unemployed tended to blame themselves for their plight. Some became convinced that they couldn't hold a job. Others eventually turned to suicide—at a rate 30 times greater than the national norm.

Similar conclusions can be drawn by projecting the results of a study of the consequences of unemployment. Harvey Brenner, in a study for the Joint Economic Committee, concluded that a 1 percent increase in unemployment over six years has in recent decades been associated with an increase in 36,887 deaths, including 20,240 from heart ailments, 920 suicides, 648 homicides, 4,227 state mental hospital admissions and 3,340 state prison admissions. Counting only the workers in the Youngstown area directly dumped by the Lykes Corporation, Brenner's figures would suggest that the single plant closing will lead to over 130 additional deaths.

Plant shutdowns bring on more family quarrels and violence, mental health problems and alcoholism. In Youngstown, for example, the Help Hotline had twice as many calls the January after the Campbell shutdown as it had the January before, and the number continued to climb. Calls about battered women, child abuse and family or marital problems tripled in the year following the shutdown. The local Alcoholic Clinic

in the number of steelworkers seeking treatment. Referrals to the Eastern Mental Health Clinic doubled in the year after the shutdown.

Adding up all these costs provides one side of what economist David Smith has labeled "the public balance sheet." Benefits of any action taken should be weighed in the same balance. The results are often surprising, and quite at odds with the private accounting. For example, Smith assumes that the government should expect a 9 percent return on its money invested in an attempt to save the Youngstown economy. Even the conservative estimates of the PMA study suggest that reopening the Campbell works would bring in enough tax money to justify a \$75 million equity investment, far more than the Coalition's proposal for Community Steel would have required. If we figure in all of the other costs and benefits, an even larger public equity investment would be justified.

"What is at issue is the differing perspectives, and therefore cost-benefit calculations, that will be made by an analyst charged with investing on behalf of a public account," Smith writes in *The Public Balance Sheet*, soon to be released by the National Center for Economic Alternatives. "Arguments over 'justification' miss the point that the public has a legitimate right to be concerned about the differential imposition of costs and benefits between the public and private sectors."

## Life and Death Power

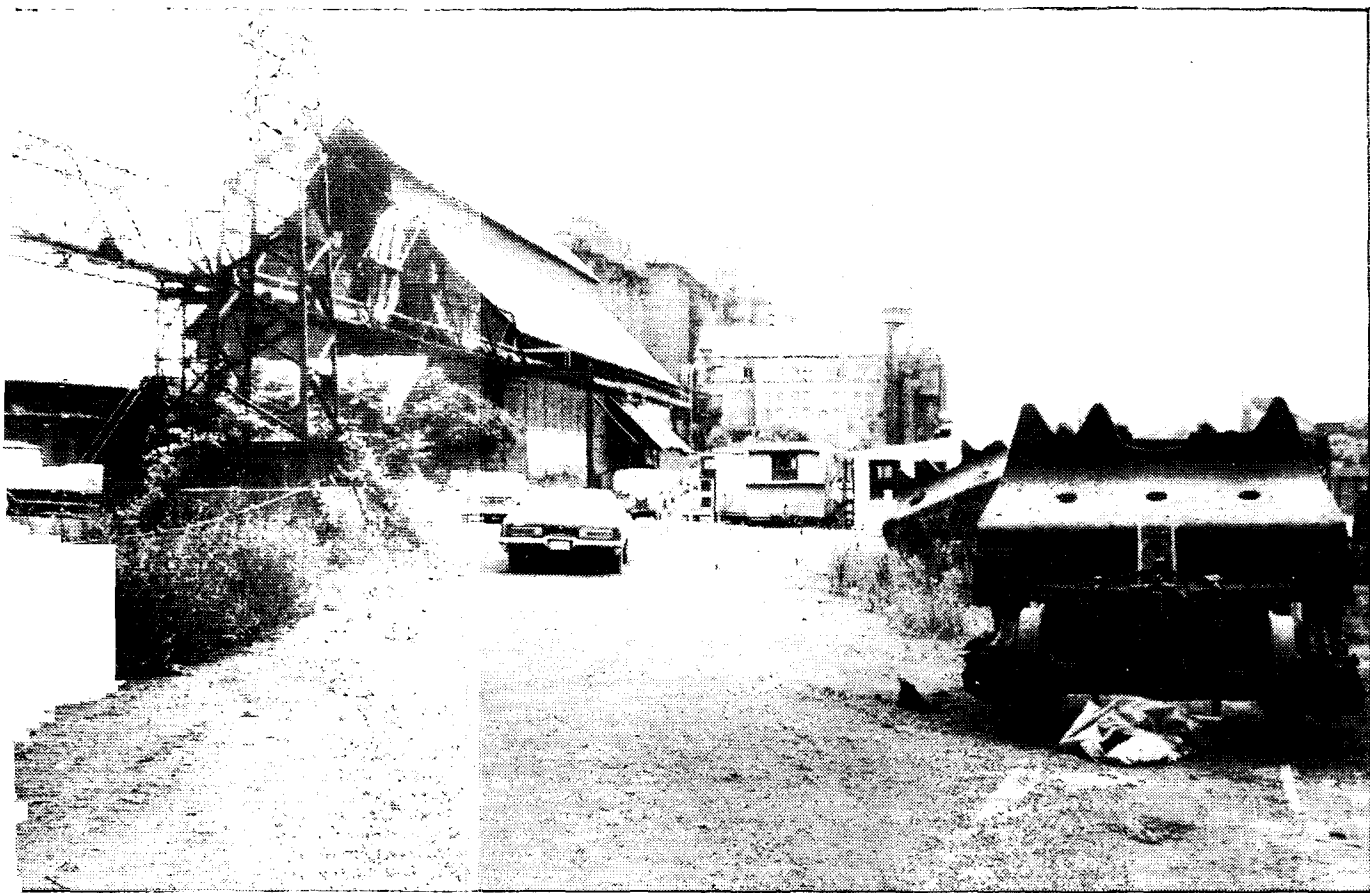
**T**HE NEED FOR A PUBLIC RECKONING OF costs and benefits has never been greater. Communities are now faced with private factory shutdown decisions on an increasingly wide range of "justifications" in the private interest that have less and less to do with the public interest.

As always, many businesses go under that deserve to go, although good management could undoubtedly save vast numbers of them. Dun and Bradstreet reports on births, deaths and moves blame managerial incompetence for 40 percent of business closings. But with the growth of concentrated corporate power, especially in the diversified conglomerate form, and with the expansion of federal intervention in the economy that hastens many business shutdowns, the issue of democratic rights and power are posed more strikingly.

Much of the debate has centered on "runaway shops,"



# SHUTDOWN!



Al DiFranco

businesses that move to the South or overseas in order to pay lower wages, to avoid unions, or to find a highly favorable "business climate."

The shift is dramatic. From 1967 to 1976 the industrial Midwest and Northeast lost 13 percent of its manufacturing work (1.5 million jobs), while the South and Southwest gained 19 percent (900,000 jobs). Also, recent calculations by the economists Robert Frank and Richard Freeman indicate that the rate of direct foreign investment at the beginning of this decade yielded an overall employment loss in the U.S. of 160,000 jobs a year. (If there had been no overseas investment, they also figure that U.S. corporate profit would have dropped by roughly 6 to 18 percent and that U.S. wages would have increased by roughly 3 to 12 percent.)

Overwhelmingly, it is the largest corporations who extend themselves overseas and, disproportionately, it is also the largest corporations that account for the shifts in capital within the U.S. "The larger corporations, using their financial strength, are the first to redistribute their operations out of declining areas into growing ones," writes David Birch, director of the M.I.T. Program on Neighborhood and Regional Change, in *The Job Generation Process*. "They do not hesitate to locate branches in greener pastures, placing an ever greater burden on the smaller firms in struggling areas like the Northeast."

Using data collected by Dun and Bradstreet—since the federal government keeps no useful records on location of firms—Birch argues that the job losses in the North are very rarely the result of an employer picking up and moving the facility south, although that was certainly true in the past of some industries, such as shoes and textiles.

His study also shows that businesses die at about the same rate (5.5-6.7 percent each year in this decade) in the North and the South. But in the faster-growing states, nearly twice as many new firms are born each year and existing firms also expand much more rapidly.

Although the Dun and Bradstreet listings understate the actual migrations, these statistics suggest that the capital shift is often more subtle. Businesses expand and modernize in the South and are gradually allowed to die in the North, with nothing created to replace them. "It is differential branching, not physical migration, that causes many of the regional differences in job growth," Birch writes. "Also, branching seems to be growing in importance over time. Branching is more important in manufacturing than in other sectors of the economy."

Although some economists use Birch's data to argue that runaways are unimportant and that the proper response of the old industrial states would be to make business feel more loved, the statistics really don't erase the fundamental problem: corporate capital's power over the health of local communities. If anything, they highlight the problem. For example, Birch notes that between 1960 and 1976, small firms (under 20 employees) generated 66 percent of all new jobs in the U.S. What did the giants, with over 500 employees, do? They generated 13 percent of the total. Even worse, in the Northeast the biggest firms actually decreased jobs by 33 percent.

The Dun and Bradstreet data may overestimate job creation by small firms, as Hal Wolman of the Urban Institute argues, but the change from the past, when larger firms generated more jobs, is remarkable. What has happened? Birch isn't certain, but he suggests that when firms get to a certain size they become multinational and then they "may make all their differential investment overseas."

Why do the big corporations shift their investment? Certainly in many cases it has been to take advantage of cheaper labor—the notorious dollar or two a day for labor in Asia or the low wages in the rural South.

But a number of researchers point to what may be even more important than cheap labor: greater corporate control. Bob Goodman, author of the forthcoming book, *The Last Entrepreneurs*, argues, for example, that "the North-South shift is in some ways accurate, but it is also very misleading. Rates of growth have been increasing in some northern states, but those are the ones with the strongest anti-labor laws. If you group the anti-labor states, then the absolute number of expansions over the past eight years has been more than double the other states."

Boston University economist Barry Bluestone, who has been studying the New England aircraft industry, argues that some corporate shifts of capital are designed to construct dual lines of production, often including dual subcontractors, in different regions or different countries in order to avoid disruption by labor.

Others suggest that even anti-union right-to-work laws in the South are not as important to most big businesses in themselves as they are cherished as an indication of a favorable "business climate."

Birch points out as well that New England is no longer a high-wage area and that many of the most rapidly growing sunbelt cities—Houston, Dallas, Los Angeles, San Diego and others—are not low-wage areas. Avoiding unionization, he thinks, is one of the most important reasons for the capital shift, along with factors such as geographical preferences of executives and avoidance of high personal taxes for management (but not corporate tax abatements, which nearly everyone agrees have very little influence on business location decisions).

"Wages are not totally negligible as an influence," he acknowledges. "Going abroad they're quite important." Now some businesses, having shifted once to the South for low wages, are continuing their shift overseas.

If control is the name of the game—with wages still important in certain circumstances—then the emergence of the conglomerate fits into the picture even more appropriately. The large corporation, and especially the diversified multinational conglomerate, seeks to escape as much as possible from any interference with its control. It hopes to avoid or master competition, business cycles, labor disputes, shifting tastes, national boundaries and legislation. It can't of course, completely succeed, but it can—and does—try.

Partly because the conglomerate has such control, many of its business decisions are made on a basis that might otherwise seem peculiar to a small entrepreneur. These peculiar decisions are extremely important for the issue of community economic health and plant shutdowns. Many of the businesses now being abandoned

—and their host communities with them—need not be scrapped by most conventional reckonings, certainly not by any comprehensive public accounting. Only the scramble for conglomerate power and accumulation dooms them.

Youngstown Sheet and Tube is a classic case, as Ohio Public Interest Campaign director Ed Kelly has convincingly demonstrated. The Lykes conglomerate took over Youngstown Sheet and Tube in 1969, borrowing heavily to buy the much larger steel firm. But rather than use its healthy cash flow to modernize the mills in Youngstown, Lykes made other acquisitions and added further debt as it built its empire. Having failed to modernize the Youngstown works sufficiently, it could not take full advantage of the steel boom in 1973-74. Then the heavy recession hit. Lykes still owed very heavy interest payments from its acquisitions. It could not raise the money to modernize at Youngstown, even though its mills there were performing more profitably than the modernized Indiana plant. It decided to abandon Youngstown, later merging with LTV Corporation. That merger gained the approval of Attorney General Griffin Bell, even though it was anti-competitive and worsened Youngstown's plight by precipitating the closing of Brier Hill and adding new obstacles to the reopening of the Campbell works.

Lykes' behavior was typically conglomerate. An acquired firm was raided as a "cashbox" to expand conglomerate control. It had long been true that large corporations, more than local capitalists, felt no attachment to a particular community, but with the conglomerates there is even little attachment to a particular industry. Capital in the abstract is everything. The result, however, is frequently very poor management of any one part of the conglomerate.

"People commonly assumed that a big company would not shut down a plant if that plant were making a profit and that, further, if a big company could not operate the local plant at a profit, then the plant was inevitably doomed to failure," Cornell University professor William Foote Whyte wrote in support of a bill aiding worker-community take-overs. "Furthermore, it was assumed that plant shutdowns were a painful but necessary part of the natural process of economic life." But the behavior of conglomerates makes a mockery of those assumptions.

Whyte, for example, found that the Saratoga Knitting Mill began losing money under conglomerate management because the dominant firm's sales force ignored the products of the acquired subsidiary. As an independent unit again, the mill thrived. In another case, Sperry Rand acquired the Herkimer plant, which made library furniture. Despite Herkimer's long history of profitability, Sperry Rand closed it because library furniture did not fit into their corporate strategy and because the plant was not making the very high target profit rate—22 percent return on invested capital.

"If Sperry Rand could make more money elsewhere by shifting its investment out of the Herkimer plant, then the shutdown made good economic sense to the top management of the conglomerate," Whyte wrote. "But it certainly did not make economic sense to the 270 employees, nor did it make sense to the rural people who earned \$875,000 a year selling trees to the plant," or to local businessmen and politicians.

Belden Daniels, a city and regional planning professor at Harvard, argues that "the conglomerate almost invariably imposes costs on the local firm that are diseconomies." For example, the Esmark conglomerate forced its subsidiary, National Tanning and Trading Company, to buy skins for more than the market price. Frequently small firms gobbled up by a conglomerate are saddled with unneeded overhead and administrative costs that are part of a giant, centralized operation.

One of Daniels' students pointed out another conglomerate tactic that results in irrational plant closings—the calculated tax loss. In the case of National Tanning, "the unfavorable return on the plant was exaggerated on paper because the parent company apparently manipulated the accounts to produce even greater losses, presumably for tax shelter purposes. This was achieved by attributing various overhead and administrative costs incurred" by other plants to the one shut down.

Conglomerate apologists claim that the takeovers can bring new managerial skills to the small firms, but often conglomerate control lessens the needed flexibility of the local unit. Central managers also frequently lack the specialized knowledge to make good business decisions for the small unit.

Such mismanagement was a problem in the case of American Safety Razor, according to Daniels' Harvard study group project. Philip Morris, which had acquired American Safety Razor, later merged with Miller Brewing. Safety razors were a tiny part of the new conglomerate. They no longer fit into the conglomerate marketing strategy. The razor division was also less profitable, although not unprofitable.



# SHUTDOWN!

Philip Morris decided to sell it. But the sale was blocked by the Federal Trade Commission as anti-competitive. So Philip Morris decided to abandon the firm, even though it would be a hard blow to a community that had recently suffered four other plant closings. Eventually, as in the case of Herkimer, National Tanning and Saratoga Knitting, there was a management-employee buy-out and the firm prospered with a new marketing strategy under the immediate control of the local firm.

The American Safety Razor case is an example of a new shutdown problem. Increasingly, Federal Trade Commission officials say, corporations will threaten to shut down if they aren't allowed to merge. Corporations are continually trying to expand the "failing company" defense against antitrust charges. If a company is about to go bankrupt, judges have ruled, a merger can proceed even though it would otherwise be anti-competitive. LTV Corporation used this argument last year when it merged with Lykes Corporation, even though Lykes was not failing.

Now that we are in the midst of a new wave of corporate mergers, Ed Kelly of OPIC predicts that, "based on past experience, we'll see more plant closings in states like Ohio and Pennsylvania, but also in the South." There may even be a new rationale for closings. One of the hottest business consultant strategies of the moment argues that conglomerates should concentrate on dominance of particular markets. If they can't dominate, then they should close the division, even if it's profitable.

That would accelerate the irrational closings already caused by setting arbitrary, high-profit targets. Bennett Harrison, associate professor of economics and urban studies at M.I.T., points to numerous conglomerates that set extreme standards of profitability—such as 25 percent return on investment—or growth and then shut down every branch that could not meet the standards, even though they were several times above the rest of the industry. "There is nothing especially 'natural' about being unable to do three to four times better than your competition," he argues.

These unnatural deaths of otherwise perfectly healthy businesses are encouraged by federal policies: investment tax credits spur new construction at the expense of maintaining the old; high interest rates favor large corporations that internally generate capital; government procurement is biased toward the big companies; foreign tax credits support overseas direct investment; treating plant closings as regular business losses speeds shutdown; mergers are encouraged by tax policy; and many government expenditures and development of infrastructure, such as highways, often hasten shifts of capital.

Ultimately the question comes down to who's in control and whose account books count. The concentration of capital, especially in conglomerates, accentuates the conflict between social needs or social rationality and the dictates of private profit-making. Especially at a time when there is insufficient general economic growth to provide balm for the civic wounds, the contradiction between communities—and ultimately the whole nation—and capital finds an acute expression in the problem of plant closings. It is less and less possible to dismiss those shutdowns as representing the triumph of efficiency and the rationality of the market, for they are quite often neither.

Tim Nulty, a former economist for the UAW who worked on plant closing issues for the Federal Trade Commission, argues that a society-wide analysis of "inputs" and "outputs" would reveal that many of the shifts of capital that benefit the private corporation are inefficient. "Does it make sense to take an action with no net increase in national output [as many factory relocations represent] and \$100 million cost that is imposed on society? When you net everything out—and that's the definition of efficiency—for many shutdowns there is a real loss of national efficiency."

Nobody makes that national accounting now. Nobody watches the public balance sheet. The conglomerates are accountable to nobody.

## Who Will Save Their Valley?

ON MARCH 29 OF THIS YEAR, ROBERT T. Hall, assistant secretary for economic development at the Commerce Department, sent a letter to Bishop James Malone of the Ecumenical Coalition and Youngstown Mayor Phillip Richley. No, he wrote, the government would not provide the 90 percent guarantees for \$245 million in loan guarantees

that along with \$27 million in grant money would be needed to reopen and modernize the Campbell mill.

The people back in Youngstown who had supported the "Save Our Valley" campaign were furious. The principal reason offered for the rejection was that the Economic Development Administration had gone on record to Congress pledging not to grant loans to the steel industry of over \$100 million. But, the Coalition replies, White House assistant Jack Watson had gone on record to them in a meeting, a press conference and a letter last fall that even \$300 million was not an outlandish request and was "within the capabilities of the government."

Hall also offered some objections to the feasibility of the plan, but the Coalition was dumbfounded that his analysis did not seem to take into account any of the recent developments. For example, in arguing that they had not arranged sufficient equity funding, Hall did not even mention the \$10 million that the State of Ohio would put into the project.

There was no acknowledgement that the United Steelworkers, who had been cool, then warm, and then cold toward the plan in the past, had recently come out forcefully for establishing Community Steel, Inc. They had also agreed that all steelworkers hired would start without accumulated seniority, since it was a new company. That move alone guaranteed the community-worker plan a 21.4 percent saving in labor cost over earlier estimates.

There had also been a new market study by a well-established consulting firm that demonstrated a strong market within 200 miles of the mill for the full output without any need for special government purchases. Steel industry officials are now admitting that there will be a steel shortage by the 1980s, which would further assure the success of and need for Community Steel. However, those same officials—according to a study of the industry by the Argus Corporation—want to cut back all of the older U.S. mills so that

when the shortage arises, prices will be driven up rapidly. The Argus research indicates the plan is modeled on the oil industry: in the tight market, foreign imports will soar in price on the short-term market, providing a back capacity.



## Ed Mann led his union into bosses' club to fight shutdowns.

That is part of the reason why the steel companies have fought the "socialistic" Community Steel proposal. Their direct pressure on the Commerce Department and indirect influence through a few traditional consultants was apparently sufficient to kill the plan last fall, before it was even completed.

Rev. Charles Rawlings, coordinator of the Coalition, says that his search of documents on the case provided through a Freedom of Information Act inquiry showed no sign that the new proposals were ever even read. One government development economist speaking off the record confirmed Rawlings' fears: the final proposal was never considered. A former skeptic about the viability of the original plan, this economist was now convinced that the revised version could have worked.

There is only one long-shot hope left for Community Steel. If Carter wants to get re-elected, he needs Ohio, and for that he needs the Mahoning Valley. He can't get it without doing something dramatic, like funding Community Steel. There are other proposals—such as a giant central coke oven or a sponge iron facility—but they provide few jobs and have other drawbacks.

Although many members of the Coalition are ready to throw in the towel on Community Steel, the movement started there is still developing. A Tri-State Commission on the steel industry involving labor, church and community groups has been formed. The Commission has filed objections to U.S. Steel's application with the Army Corps of Engineers to build a new-from-scratch "greenfield" steel mill on Lake Erie at Conneaut, Ohio. They demand that alternative sites, such as Youngstown and Pittsburgh, be considered. The new strategy emerging from the steel communities emphasizes "brownfield" development, rebuilding the steel industry in the communities where steelworkers live.

The local union at Brier Hill put up a spunky fight

against the LTV decision to close the mill, offering counterproposals for reopening it under worker-community ownership and carrying their protests into the local country club meeting of steel executives. They battled an apparent plan to shut the mill this spring, but then agreed—mistakenly, many feel—to cooperate with an orderly shutdown of the mill later this year. They continue to press for alternatives and have helped to inspire the recent complete turnover of local union leadership—except for their own local—that may prepare the Youngstown labor movement for a stronger role in any future contest over closings of U.S. Steel.

"The community effort here was the best effort ever made," said John Barbero, retiring vice-president of Local 1462. "But I don't know where we're going now. I'm very pessimistic. A good part of the problem was that people were just not getting involved. The effort was never really made on the people to organize them." Despite the impressive Coalition effort, there was always this undercurrent of discouragement: why didn't people—especially the affected steelworkers—back the plan more forcefully?

Many point to the extensive benefits as having "bought off" the workers. Others suggest that many people felt that the project was impossible and found it hard to believe that a bunch of clergy knew anything about steel. The on-again, off-again lukewarm support from the district and international steel union officers hurt. The coalition had broad support, 80 percent of area residents showed a positive reaction to the Coalition in a poll last fall, compared with 18 percent positive about Carter. But it was shallow support, Coalition attorney Staughton Lynd says.

But there are other, deeper cultural problems that can only be overcome as a movement convinces people of their capacity to act and of their right to make demands. In that sense, it is a task similar to starting a labor movement or a civil rights movement. "The thing that people say so often: 'But it's *their* property,'" district union representative Marvin Weinstock said. "People don't think they can affect it, something so big. It's been pounded away that they have no control when it's someone else's property. People do not yet feel that their rights are on a par with—or superior to—the rights of property, even when they have been deeply hurt."

Likewise, people have so little experience in democracy and direct control of their lives and often have so

little knowledge of the industries on which they depend, that they feel they have no capacity to act. Many of the steelworkers from Campbell, however, were anxious to use their skills to open up the mill. They knew how to run the mill better, how to save money, how to work together in a way that the old management had hindered with its authoritarian rule of the workplace—if only somebody could get the money to start the mill rolling again.

Top-down control in the labor movement denies workers the one major opportunity they have for exercise of democracy and building a sense of their capacity for self-management, too. "When the union took away our most powerful weapon—the strike—when they wouldn't give us the right to ratify our contract democratically, when we were told for years not to rock the boat, and then when all these pacifiers came in—that's why nobody took action," Len Balluck says.

Why was there so little action from other workers? "Suppose you're my neighbor," Balluck explains. "You have a good job. You don't give a damn. Too bad, but as long as money's coming into my pocket, I don't care. That's what it's come to. People don't care as long as their pockets are full."

It may take good ideas, solid plans, technical expertise, access to money and sufficient clout to elect sympathetic politicians or to force other legislators to respond in order to turn the tide against conglomerate shutdowns, to assert the primacy of the public balance sheet and to defend the economic health of communities. Above all, however, it takes a dramatic cultural shift in favor of democratic initiative against the power of capital. That requires a powerful political movement.

*Next week: Economist Gar Alperovitz discusses shutdowns, what to do about them and the step beyond—planning for community economic health.*



IN THESE TIMES

## EDITORIAL



## We're U.S. Inc.—Doing what we do best.

The rage for deregulation of business has enjoyed a short season before running into a growing public outrage against the public vices of "unfettered enterprise."

Deregulation was advertised as offering the public better products, higher efficiency, reduced costs and lower prices through the beneficence of competition for private gain. It would fight inflation by freeing business to do what it does best—make money. The shining accomplishment establishing Alfred B. Kahn's credentials as the President's chief inflation fighter was his role at the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) "deregulating" the airlines.

Amidst the deregulation din and all the inflation fighting, what public benefits have accrued?

- The Three Mile Island nuclear power plant breakdown revealed that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and its predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, had been more solicitous of the industry's profitability and weapons development than of the public health and safety. The ultimate fallout will be rising prices for nuclear energy and higher utility bills in general.

- Decontrol of oil has yielded the benefits of soaring gasoline prices, withheld production, and more inflation.

- New York City subway trains have been found to have serious design faults—car undercarriages, in violation of established safety standards. The subway system bought them in full knowledge of the faults to avoid upsetting the manufacturers' profitability. This scandal of amiable regulation, now that it is known, will result in higher mass transit costs to New Yorkers.

- The aftermath of the DC-10 disaster at Chicago's O'Hare airfield last month publicized serious design faults—known for years to both the industry and the federal regulatory agencies. But again, solicitude for "competitive" profit-making took precedence over public safety. The result now has been the loss of millions of dollars in grounded flights and dis-

rupted service—not to mention the cruel and needless loss of lives—and the ultimate result will be higher fares.

University of Pittsburgh Graduate School professor of public and international affairs, Frederick C. Thayer, author of *Air Transport Policy and National Security*, has pointed out that Kahn's triumph at the CAB in "deregulating" airlines shows, if anything, that in this case at least, "competition leads to higher, not lower, costs" (*New York Times*, June 18). The CAB moved to deregulation in the face of its own report giving reason

and the Federal Trade Commission in 1914, the history of regulation has been one of the corporations' domination of the very agencies mandated to regulate them. The result has been, not government regulation of business for the public benefit, but business regulation of the public in service of private gain, clothed in the authority of government.

That historical record was monotonously corroborated one more time two short years ago (August 1977) by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. It had conducted a two-year study of over a

## Deregulation and business as usual —the latest in "crackpot realism"— raise costs and reduce public safety.

to believe that there is a cause-effect relationship between intensified airline competition and reduced passenger safety. Besides that, as Thayer observed, "all-out airline competition simply wastes oil."

Those now suing American Airlines for criminal negligence may also think of suing the CAB and the Carter administration for foisting upon the public airline "competition" that undermines safety in pursuit of cutting maintenance and other costs. They might also, like the rest of us, recognize in "deregulation" and the competition craze, what C. Wright Mills once called the "crackpot realism" of business as usual.

Other examples of public benefits from "deregulation" abound: an inflation rate galloping healthily along at a 13 percent annual rate; rising costs ministered by a "self-regulating" medical industry; unsafe autos and tires—each reader can extend the list.

Deregulation is only half the issue. The other half is the *quality* of government regulation of business even at its strictest. Going back to the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887

dozen federal agencies responsible for regulating business in communications, transportation, energy, finance, nuclear power, foods and drugs, and consumer products. The Committee's unanimous findings (14-0)—unusual in an even less politically controversial matter—were that "At agency after agency, participation by the regulated industry predominates—often overwhelmingly." For example, 11 major airlines spent \$2.8 million on representation before the CAB in 1976, as against \$20,000 by the major consumer organization at that time, Aviation Consumer Action. AT&T alone spent \$1.8 million in representation before the Federal Communications Commission in 1975, as against "a total absence of any public interest representation."

The Senate Committee's recommendations included the need to establish a federal consumer protection agency and to provide for greater public and consumer input into regulatory agencies' work. It will be remembered that the bill introduced in Congress to implement these recommendations went down to defeat last year under the avalanche of the "deregula-

tion" rage swamping Congress from business—and from the Carter administration.

The public and the economy suffer from both "deregulation" and regulation subservient to the corporations. There is no getting around the lesson of the long history of regulation in a capitalist society like the U.S.: Where "private enterprise" is the power in society, regulation will be in the interest of the corporations, not the public. As long as "competitive enterprise" for private gain is the sacred cow, regulation will lead more to the corruption of public trust than to the taming of profit-making on behalf of the public safety and a genuine economic proficiency.

Until enterprise for the public welfare becomes the highest good, the American people will continue to suffer the consequences of "deregulated" and "regulated" business alike. No amount of inculcating regulators with the virtues of civic duty or "impartial expertise," can serve as a real remedy. For in a society where "the dollar talks and everyone else walks," regulation must serve the cause of private profit-making or risk the disruption of investment, that is its civic duty. And the "experts" themselves are trained to accept profitability as an "impartial" requirement of healthy enterprise; they often come to the regulatory agency from the industry to be regulated, returning to the industry after their term of service to resume their family responsibility of making as high an income as they can, expertly representing their companies before the regulatory agency on the other side of the table.

In the last analysis, it is not the degree of government "meddling" that's the problem—any more than "deregulation" is a solution—but the capitalist ethic and capitalist power that dominates the corporate economy and the government alike.

It would be well to bear this in mind next time we are entertained by the TV commercial: "We're American Airlines, doing what we do best." It's a commercial that well represents all American "free enterprise." There is, after all, some truth in advertising. ■



# LETTERS

## LANCED

**P**AT WATERS' THESIS—THAT THE Lance trial will benefit Carter's image—is unsupported by his article (ITT, June 13). He uses one *Atlanta Constitution* editorial and a personal insight into the southern mentality to try to prove such a sentiment exists in Georgia. This is bad enough, but how his southern spark magically ignites a nation-wide prairie fire is left to our imagination—or his.

—Kerry Tremaine  
Chicago

## SOCIALISM FIRST, ROCK'N'ROLL SECOND

**A**S A SOCIALIST FIRST AND ROCK'N'ROLLER second, I am pleased that you reviewed disco (ITT, June 6). It reflects a healthy willingness to debate, as well as analyze, popular culture. I add to this debate two observations:

First, disco is "progressive" because it unites working-class white and black music listeners is a nice thought, but exaggerated. First, disco isn't the first kind of music to have multi-racial appeal; one only has to remember Motown and those dance parties ("Ain't Nothin' but a House Party") back in the early '60s.

Second, it seems to me disco hasn't exactly captivated the white working class here in the Midwest. Rock, and especially country rock, is still the mainstay here, and it looks like it'll stay that way for a while. In fact, Tulsa had an all-disco station some years back and it failed miserably.

Third, to connect disco dancing with the upsurge of left political activity seems a bit hasty, if not absurd. Demonstrations are an outgrowth of collective political activity, with (theoretically) each participant using his or her political knowledge and commitment to shape the form and outcome. Meanwhile, disco dance steps are pre-determined by some New York "pro"; the music pre-determined in a sound booth by a series of tape loops and background voices. This is cause and effect?

Disco is a form of social control, in which a handful of corporations determines our taste for three-piece suits, John Travolta underwear and all the rest of that crap that makes us dutiful little consumers.

At least in the '60s, we could call rock *ours*.

—Andy Goulman  
Tulsa, Okla.

## ALL LIFE IS NOT HUMAN

**T**WERE FAR, FAR BETTER TO "ignore" biological facts than to misinterpret them as Juli Loesch does (Letters, ITT, May 23). Human life begins only when an organism becomes "human." That transformation does not occur when a newly fertilized ovum divides itself into two separate cells, but late in the third trimester, after the fetus has evolved virtually all of the salient neurological and physiological structures, in either dormant or more mature forms, that distinguish human beings from other creatures. All that "begins" at conception is the developmental process.

It is equally misleading to represent a fetal parasite as independent and self-sufficient when it can neither develop nor maintain its own components, from the third week after conception on through, without utilizing the host's own body and circulatory system for its nourishment and excretory functions.

Although it is true that the fetus is as inarticulate as it is uninformed on the matters in contention, that is no justifi-

cation for Loesch's appointing herself its spokesman. And it is outrageously presumptuous of her to infer that only anti-abortionists can render just and humane decisions.

As for Loesch's gross allusions to me "enjoying" my "sex organs like a man," the desire I actually articulated in my letter was for a "full title" to said organs, womb and all. Juli's alteration, however, does present a faithful example of standard anti-choice campaign tactics.

—Audrey Patton  
Moody, Mo.

## YOU CAN'T FOOL MOTHER NATURE

**E**NVIRONMENTAL BREAKDOWNS WILL end capitalism. If we socialists are onto this, we can help prevent real disaster by developing our energy-environment politics. If, like Arthur Redler (ITT, May 9), we put the cart before the horse and think there is a difference between "socialist" radiation and capitalist radiation, we will learn what is meant by the saying, "If you fool mother nature, she will make a fool out of you."

—Mike Edera  
North Plains, Ore.

## NOT A SOCIALIST, BUT...

**I**AM A RECENT SUBSCRIBER TO YOUR paper and find it interesting. I do not agree with all that you publish, but who does.

I have considered myself a liberal for almost 50 years and have always voted for the individual. I have voted on all important elections.

I am not a Socialist, as your publication is, but like to keep up with all important issues. As a result, I read your paper, *The Nation*, *Mother Jones*, the *Saturday Review*, plus others. I am also a member of the Sierra Club and am an activist with them and regularly correspond with our Senators and Congressmen on conservation issues. The same goes for *The World Federalists*.

—Charles Breyfogle  
Glendale, Ariz.

## UNROMANTIC

**A**LTHOUGH I HAD ALREADY COMPLETED an extension of my remarks on Leland Stauber's "For a Socialism That Works," Stauber's rejoinder, "Overcoming Left Romanticism," contains references to my contributions that demand a reply.

First, let me confess mystification at being attacked as a "left romantic." My criticism of Stauber's proposal was framed in the most conventional language of neo-classical economic analysis. Milton Friedman could find nothing to fault in such an analysis, although, obviously, our goals are diametrically opposed. I utilized this type of analysis because of my conviction that our current late capitalist society cannot be justified even by the neo-classical analysis developed to do so. Social costs and benefits are not merely evils of laissez faire capitalism, but are present wherever a society undertakes production. Any rational profit-seeker will try to minimize private costs and impose the maximum social cost possible on society at large, the better to earn a profit.

As for Stauber's critique of the Meidner plan, I find it mainly acceptable; in particular, since my suggestion of the Meidner plan was tentative. My next piece will deal with an American alternative. However, since nit-picking seems to be the order of the day, I would like to note that Stauber's critique that the Meidner plan "...further concentrates the holding of stock voting rights..." is not valid in the U.S. Since over one-half

of all American capital is held by pension funds, controlled largely by bank trust departments and large insurance companies, shifting voting control of this capital to unions would in fact diffuse economic power. Stauber fails to realize how far the U.S. has departed from laissez faire towards a sneaky sort of command economy.

In spite of my criticisms, I congratulate Dr. Stauber on stimulating such a refreshing debate.

—John H. Brown  
Akron, O.

## AFT DEFENDED

**A** MAJOR CONTRIBUTION OF ITT TO left journalism is the high level of accurate and insightful coverage of the labor movement. A glaring exception to this occurred with the publication of Lois Weiner's article on the American Federation of Teachers (ITT, June 6). I have been a local officer, organizer, and am currently a National Representative in the Department of Organization of AFT and must conclude that Weiner and I belong to different unions.

Weiner's vision of the AFT willfully ignores the three major actions of the past year undertaken by the leadership and supported by the membership. First, no mention is made of the fact that AFT supplied the money and people to lead the successful fight against tuition tax-credits that threatened to destroy the public schools as an agency of a democratic society.

Second, the major action of the Executive Council at the last convention was to implement the "Million or More by '84" project which committed the full resources of the union to an aggressive organizing campaign through hiring 15 additional National Representatives and earmarking over \$1 million of funds for direct assistance to locals.

Third, this past November, AFT formed the Federation of Nurses and Health Professionals in order to organize the largest group of unorganized women professional employees in the work force. Fortunately for hundreds of thousands of teachers, school employees, and health workers, the leadership of AFT understands, as Weiner does not, that the primary purpose of a trade union is to organize the unorganized.

The major point in Weiner's conspiracy theory, the convention questionnaire, had exactly the opposite genesis of that suggested. The Executive Council of AFT became seriously concerned following the 1977 convention held in Boston about the large number of locals that sent only partial delegations and of smaller locals that sent none. The proposal to move to biennial conventions was one of several proposals designed to increase membership participation, the questionnaire was another. The final decision will be made by the membership and the leaders that they elect, as has always been the practice of the AFT.

—Rich Klimmer  
Washington, D.C.

## THE GOOD GUYS AMONG THE BAD

**W**HEN DIRECTOR GEORGE ROMERO tells your admiring interviewer (ITT, June 6) that he filled his movie, *Dawn of the Dead*, with such extreme amounts of violence and brutality to "cut through the white noise" of modern society, it's tempting to believe he's performed us a service. We on the left have a tendency to identify with anyone who claims to be blowing away the foundations, or cutting through the mystifying noise of bourgeois society. What we forget is that *how* we cut through the noise makes all the difference in the world.

Reviewer Aufderheide compares Romero with directors like Coppola and Shrader for his "dark insights" and his lack of an "alternative view." Better yet, he's "funny." He has his audiences whooping and hollering at every new

and explicit way to "kill" a zombie, and has them panting for more.

Well, Coppola, Shrader *et al.* may not have a blueprint for the good society, but they give us the "alternative view" we demand—a basic sympathy and respect for the passions and struggles of real people in awful situations; a sympathy and respect with which we can build a democratic culture. With the mutual contempt engendered by Romero's violent pornography (a contempt oddly echoed by your accompanying article, "Only the Dead Know Pittsburgh"), we're lost.

Romero has made a movie whose sole purpose is to titillate the very worst that's in us. It's a movie that denies everything a humane and mutually respectful culture would embody. It "cuts through the white noise" in the spirit of Hermann Goering's remark, "When I hear the word 'culture,' I reach for my gun." Its celebration seemed a little out of place in ITT's otherwise inspired pages.

—Fred Rosen  
Esopus, N.Y.

## AN UNTIMELY TRIP TO THE FRIDGE?

**R**ICHARD HATCH'S REVIEW OF THE 90-minute PBS television critique of American architecture (ITT, May 23) suggests that he did not see the same program I did. I do not share his view that Lewis Mumford "allowed producers... to use his name but draw his teeth," and Hatch, in fact, failed to document this charge.

His charge that "throughout...there is no mention of social class" is simply not true. Maybe he was at the fridge during the discussion of why the managers of such matters have insisted on tearing down the magnificently built cast-off dwellings of the rich because they disapproved of the life-styles of later inhabitants who (with admirable devotion to providence) grew vegetables in their front yards. And he must also have been absent during the discussion of the Pruitt-Igoe disaster. Perhaps also during the brief reference to Jane Jacobs and her observations on "city planning."

I agree with his plea for an airing of Mumford's precepts, and I certainly hope that PBS will go into them in the future. But you cannot do everything in 90 minutes. (I also agree that in the present climate of "urban renewal" this is urgently needed.)

—Fredrick S. Gram  
St. Paul, Minn.

## HELP MAKE ITT A POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL SUCCESS

**I**N THESE TIMES IS SEEKING TRAVELING Representatives and salespeople to increase circulation, make the paper better known and to organize support groups.

Travelers will be guaranteed expenses plus a negotiable minimum salary against commissions on subscription sales. Initial work will be in Minnesota and Michigan, from July through November. Applicants must be familiar with the paper's contents and purpose, be able to meet with local trade union, co-op food store, ecology, anti-nuke and left political groups. They will also be expected to solicit local bookstores and libraries and to set up local groups of subscribers as support groups. A car is required.

Travelers will work closely with the Chicago office and subscribers throughout each state. Orientation and training is planned for late June or early July.

Interested? Please apply to James Weinstein, (312) 489-4444.

## Summer Vacation

**I**n These Times will not publish the last week of July and the first week in August. Our issue dated July 18-24 will be followed by the issue dated August 8-14.



ROBERTA LYNCH

## Mr. Hyde robs the poor in Congress, rewards charity in silver bowls

NOT LONG AGO A LEADING Chicago gossip columnist reported his pleasure at being the recipient of a "magnificent" silver bowl for his charitable work against heart disease. Another columnist was similarly honored for his efforts on behalf of mental health.



"It wasn't a particularly interesting item and I was about to move on when my eye fell on the name of the presenter of these awards. They were made by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) at a fundraiser in his honor.

Does the name mean anything to you? It is affixed to one of the more unconscionable pieces of federal legislation to come along in recent years. The Hyde amendment is the rider attached to the Labor-HEW appropriations bill that denies Medicaid funds for abortion while continuing to pay all other medical expenses, including those related to childbirth, for low income women.

Since it was first passed two years ago, it has inspired over 50 states to cut off their share of funding for abortions and has reduced the number of publicly-funded abortions by an estimated 99 percent in those states.

It is hard not to choke on the irony of a man who has done such incalculable damage to the minds and—yes—hearts of so many women handing out silver

bowls for work on mental health and heart disease.

But the silver bowl is only a symbol of the deeper ironies that pervade this issue. The anti-abortion forces have gone to such lengths to disguise their essential inhumanity that to encounter the rationales for the Hyde amendment is like stumbling into some Orwellian landscape in which language can no longer be a common touchstone and truth is stood perversely upon its head.

Pass a bill that will force a low-income woman to choose between her entire monthly AFDC payment and bearing an unwanted child. Call this refusing to provide a convenience.

Take a poor black woman's right to decide whether and when to have a child taken away from her and give it to the state. Call this liberation politics.

Force a girl of 13 whose parents have disowned her and whose boyfriend has

abandoned her to carry a pregnancy she doesn't want to term. Call this concern for life.

Oppose using public funds for abortion while remaining mute in the face of billions spent to propagate and carry out—often unwanted—sterilizations. Call this opposition to genocide.

It is a dizzying and disturbing litany that could go on and on. Not surprisingly, however, this newfound concern for poor women on the part of anti-choice forces never seems to get beyond verbal acrobatics. Henry Hyde has been a notorious opponent of welfare and child care legislation that would enhance a low-income woman's ability to have a child if she wanted to do so. And right-to-life groups have seldom distinguished themselves as proponents of such measures.

As I have argued in earlier columns, abortion is a complex social issue as well as a frequently painful personal decision. Disagreement about its ethical implications cannot be wished away anymore than the need for it can be legislated away.

But in the final analysis each woman must have the right to weigh all the moral and medical considerations on the scale of her own life needs and values and to reach her own decision. Anything short of this leads into a legislative jungle and an ethical nightmare.

And that is precisely where the Hyde amendment has brought us today. Women are deprived of this right solely because they are already economically deprived.

There is simply no acceptable justification for such an injustice.

It is true that a poor woman's ability to freely choose whether to bear a child is delimited by her circumstances. But you don't change this by denying her one more choice—by denying her ability to exercise her own judgment in her immediate situation. You change it by working for a society that provides sufficient economic security to enable a woman to bear a child if she wants to do so.

It is true that the American government is the chief pusher of population control policies. But you don't change this by refusing to respect poor women's

ability to challenge such policies without placing control of their wombs in the hands of that same government. You change it by actively opposing forced sterilization and population control propaganda.

It is true that poor women have not turned out in force to oppose the Hyde amendment. But you don't change this by ignoring the immense difficulties such women face simply trying to hold their families together, to survive. You change it by working for the conditions that will allow these women to make their voices heard on the range of issues that concern them. You can be sure that Hyde is one of them.

Such change is essential. When the Hyde amendment was first up for consideration, the congressional air fairly crackled with fierce debate. Once passed, however, it got by the second year with much less fanfare, an almost fatalistic resignation marking its legislative opponents.

Except in a few rare cases, such battles seldom emerge solely from the well-springs of each legislator's deep personal convictions. They are rather the product of that most honored of political principles—public pressure.

The right applied it in great quantities to get the original legislation through. Now the pro-choice forces will have to make our presence felt in Congress if this law is not to simply settle into the commonplace of an already socially and economically lopsided society.

A national campaign is now getting underway to defeat Hyde this time around. For information, contact the Reproductive Rights National Network, c/o NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657.

At stake is our commitment to justice and equality. And at stake is every woman's right to a safe, legal abortion—for the anti-choice forces have made no secret of the fact that Hyde is only their first step.

Given that, I can't see letting Henry Hyde happily hand out too many more silver bowls.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

MANNING MARABLE

### FROM THE GRASSROOTS

## "Not by desegregation alone": W.E.B. DuBois and the BROWN decision

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF the Supreme Court ruling on *Brown vs. Board of Education* is now history. President Carter and the majority of moderate black leaders celebrated the ruling which found segregated public schools "inherently unequal," by noting

the progress achieved by black America since 1954. [Other more progressive blacks called the anniversary a "day of shame," observing the lack of real progress made in establishing quality education for black children across the country. Beyond the specter of Bakke and Weber resides the likelihood of even greater cutbacks in social spending, the reduction of affirmative action programs in higher education and the closing of dozens of traditionally black universities and colleges throughout the South.

W.E.B. DuBois viewed the *Brown* decision with a great deal of optimism. In an essay in the *African Americanist*, May 31, 1954, he argued that the ruling had made the former "separate but equal" goal of "equality between black and white Americans" a real possibility. He rejoiced and tell the world, and by so doing



admit that theretofore this nation has not been a free democracy." Nevertheless, DuBois also recognized that desegregation was not the only, nor even central basis for the construction of a quality education for black people.

The meaning of the mature scholar's thoughts on education are summarized in one of his final speeches given in the U.S. At Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, N.C., April 2, 1960, DuBois delivered perhaps his most thoughtful critique of the role of desegregation within an overall strategy for improving the quality of black education. He was, incidentally, 92 years old at the time.

In the address, "Whither Now and Why?" DuBois observed that the suc-

cesses of the early civil rights movement and the *Brown* decision might mean that blacks would cease to appreciate and understand their own culture. "Manifestly this would not be satisfactory," he insisted. The final settlement of the racial problem will not occur by "getting rid of the Negro race...forgetting the slave trade and slavery...[and] the whole cultural history of Africans in the world."

"No!" he exclaimed. "What I have been fighting for and am still fighting for is the possibility of black folk and their cultural patterns existing in America without discrimination, and on terms of equality." Desegregation should not mean cultural assimilation. "If we take this attitude, we have got to do so consciously and deliberately."

DuBois' thesis appeared to many to straddle both sides of the desegregation question. On the one hand, DuBois insisted that blacks must not refuse to attend formerly white colleges and schools. "We must accept equality," he stated flatly, "or die." On the other hand, he reiterated his love for black culture and ethnicity, which had guided his entire career as a scholar and pioneer in African research and Pan-Africanist politics.

"What we must do," DuBois reasoned, "is to lay down a line of thought and action that will accomplish two things: the disappearance of color discrimination in American life and the preservation of African history and culture as a valuable contribution to modern civilization."

DuBois predicted that by the year 2000 there would probably be "no school segregation on the basis of race." Implicit in his remarks is the idea that parents of black children had to pressure white universities, schools and public officials to create affirmative action programs and policies for admission of minorities. Simultaneously, DuBois argued for the continued existence of "black Parent-Teacher Associations." Black private colleges had to remain black on a voluntary basis. Black families must be encouraged to assume an active, leadership role in the educational process.

The purpose of black education was to promote the continued development and existence of black American culture and ethnicity and to bring about a greater democratic movement within the state and society as a whole.

DuBois' approach reflects the "duality" expressed as early as 1903 in his book, *Souls of Black Folks*. The tactics appropriate to integration and black separatism were essential in an overall strategy toward black education. DuBois' platform appeared contradictory to the majority of his black and white critics, because they missed the central contradiction of Afro-American life—that black people were blacks and Americans. Any realistic strategy for black educational development must incorporate the cultural factor of black ethnicity and uniqueness with the political factor of the need to struggle for full and uncompromised rights within predominantly white academic institutions.

To an extent, DuBois' position was articulated by the Reverend Garnett Henning, an SCLC leader in Los Angeles, at a May 17th press conference on *Brown*. Henning argued that there was no fundamental contradiction between advocating more money for black schools and more integration. "We need both things. If these isolated schools are improved it destroys the argument of those who say they don't want their kids sent to run-down schools."

Quality education for black people will be achieved not by desegregation alone. Community-controlled public schools within the black community are essential, but not sufficient in themselves. The guaranteed existence and upgrading of traditional black universities is part of the solution, but not by itself. We should applaud the meaning of the *Brown* decision, recognizing the benefits it created as well as the unresolved problems, while also insisting upon the continued necessity of black educational institutions on a voluntary basis.

Manning Marable is professor of history at the University of San Francisco. He is an editor of *Socialist Review*.



## IN THE USSR

## How I ran for election... and how I lost



Roy Medvedev, the distinguished historian, is a Soviet citizen living in Moscow. He is the foremost Marxist critic of Soviet society within the dissident movement, of which he is a prominent leader. His numerous books and articles on politics and history include *LET HISTORY JUDGE: THE ORIGINS AND CONSEQUENCES OF STALINISM* (Knopf, 1972) and *ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY* (Knopf, 1975). His report on Soviet fears of China appeared in these pages March 23. Medvedev writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

By Roy Medvedev

For some time elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and indeed, to every other kind of Soviet, have not aroused any interest among the people of our country. There are many reasons for this. In the first place, the Supreme Soviet was never in the least an influential organization. It usually meets only twice a year for two or three days in order to ratify the laws and directives already approved by the Central Committee of the CPSU. And in as much as there are no parties other than the Communist party in our country, there is no opposition in the Supreme Soviet.

Every proposal of the government or the Central Committee is immediately passed by the Supreme Soviet without objections of any sort.

In the second place, every electoral district puts forth the candidate designated and approved by highest party officials. "What kind of election is this?" reasons even the common man nowadays, "where they offer only one candidate?"

Of course, this is not written into the Constitution or the Electoral Regulations. On the contrary, the Electoral Regulations are composed as though the voter had some kind of choice. On the ballot the phrase even appears: "Leave the name of the candidate for whom you are voting on the ballot. Cross out the other names." But this is only theory. In practice the ballots are printed with one name.

Over the last few years, more and more people have ceased participating in the elections. One person votes for the whole family and all the neighbors. Under the pretext of travel, many voters withdraw from registration at their own polling place, but do not vote anywhere else. Figures exist showing that usually up to 10 percent of voters fail to participate in the elections. However, the newspapers always inform us that 99.9 percent of the electorate voted for candidates from the Communist and non-party-member bloc.

This year elections to the Supreme Soviet were set for March 4. A simple thought occurred to a few dissidents. We struggle against the violation of many civil rights, but then we do not try to exercise those rights which we have, it would seem, by law. So they decided to try to put forth their own independent candidates in the March 4, 1979, election.

This thought arose in the first place among members of a small organization by the name of SMOT, the Free Interprofessional Worker's Union, which until now has kept away from the usual dissident activities. The members of SMOT

created a small organization called "Election '79" and decided to offer two candidates in the up-coming election; to the Soviet of Nationalities, Liudmila Grigorievna Agapov from the Second Electoral District, and me, from the Sverdlovsk Electoral District of Moscow.

With this proposal, members of the "Election '79" group visited me at the end of January 1979. By the Electoral Regulations every candidate must give his written consent. Although such a proposal came as a complete surprise, I gave my consent.

Having prepared all the necessary documents in complete accordance with the Electoral Regulations, the members of the group addressed the electoral commission of the Sverdlovsk District of Moscow with a request to register their candidate. The appearance of a group of workers with such a proposal at first aroused jovial animation in the electoral commission.

The chairman of the commission asked the members of the group straight out whether they knew what country they lived in, and didn't they want to come down from the clouds to this sinful earth. But the documents had been correctly compiled, and the commission had to accept them for examination. After a few days the electoral commission summoned the photographer Vladimir Sychev, chairman of "Election '79," and the group's secretary, Vladimir Baranov, to return the documents, declaring that the organization was not registered with the city or district executive committee.

It bears mentioning that many organizations exist in the USSR which are not so registered, and nothing is said about them in the Electoral Regulations. It became necessary to appeal to Soviet law. Almost no Moscow lawyers knew how to form and register any organization. At last we discovered that a special Statute on Voluntary Societies and Unions which had been enacted July 10, 1931, in a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars was still in effect. The text of this statute can be found in the *Systematic Collection of Laws of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Decisions of the Government of the RSFSR*, vol. XII, Moscow, 1969, pages 668-675, Juridical Literature Press.

The charter of the social organization "Election '79" was then formulated in complete accordance with this statute. Since all social organizations must, by the Soviet Constitution, acknowledge the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was stated in the charter that the organization "Election '79" would conform to all decisions of the Communist Party Congress on the development of Soviet socialist democracy and that it set as its task raising voter activity and political consciousness.

The new organization's request to register and all documents concerning its functions were submitted to the Sverdlovsk District executive committee. The mem-

bers of this executive committee as well spent a long time trying to persuade the representatives of "Election '79" to refrain from presenting their documents and to disband their organization. But the group persisted, and the executive committee had to accept the documents for examination. Simultaneously, a complaint was submitted to the Central Electoral Commission. While these formalities were carried out the deadline for registration of candidates expired. Thus the ballot for the Sverdlovsk electoral district acknowledged only one candidacy, that of the ballerina Bessmertnova.

But formalities aside, ultimately the voter decides everything himself. He has a perfect right to go into the booth, cross out the name of the official candidate and write in the name of his own. That is precisely how all 28 members of "Election '79" proceeded. They withdrew their voter registration in their own districts and came in a body to one of the polling places in the Sverdlovsk District, where they wrote my name on the ballots. A few voters from the Second Electoral District of the Moscow Region did the same. There they crossed out the name of the official candidate, chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR Smirnov, and wrote in Liudmila Agapov.

Many dissidents who were not members of "Election '79" acted likewise. All day long on March 4 acquaintances and strangers called to say that they had voted for me in the Sverdlovsk District. How many votes were cast like that? I think no more than 100 or 200. I, of course, sustained a crushing defeat, since to win I would have needed about 100,000 votes.

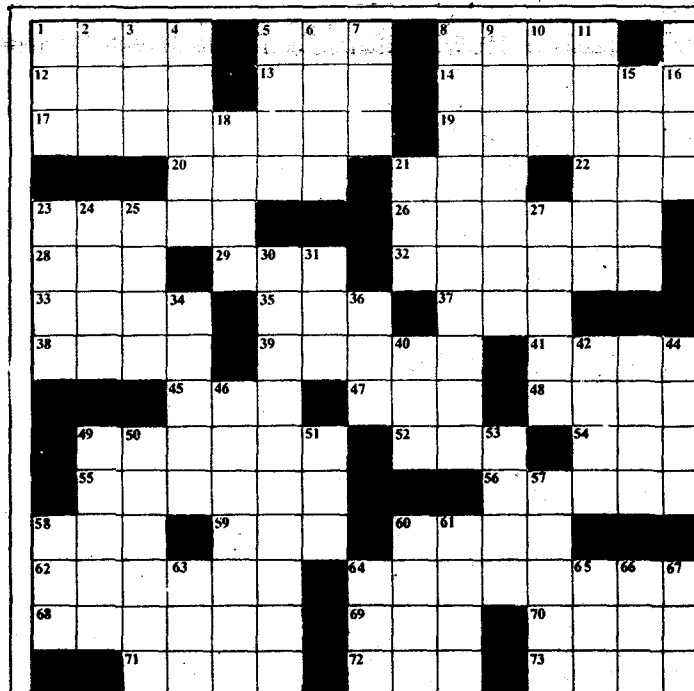
Nonetheless, the attempt was an inter-

esting and important political experiment, showing one more time just how undemocratic the electoral system in our country is. Although "Election '79" has temporarily discontinued its activities, it expects to renew them in 1980 for the election to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federated Republic (RSFSR). Incidentally, the Sverdlovsk District executive committee has examined the question of the registration of this new organization at one of its sessions. Its decision states that the organization cannot be registered, "as it duplicates the work of the electoral commission."

It is important to note that the initiative of "Election '79," which several Western radio stations covered, received support in other parts of the country as well. For example, in the city of Sochi nearly 200 veterans of World War II and the Civil War (Soviets of Veterans exist in every city in the USSR) sent a long letter to the local and Central Electoral Commissions in which they asked to register my candidacy to the Soviet of Unions from the Sochi Electoral District, and the candidacy of Murat Murzabegovich Aduev, veteran of World War II and the Civil War, to the Soviet of Nationalities from the Krosnodar Electoral District. At the same time they sent me a letter requesting my written consent.

I did not, however, receive that official, government letter, nor four others to the same effect. My mail began to include letters from Sochi only after March 4, i.e., after the election. Similar groups arose in the Vladimir Region and in Lithuania, but at present I know no details of their activities.

Translated from the Russian by Erica J. Brown.



- 7 Nevertheless  
8 First persons?  
9 Carbonated drink?  
10 Distress letters  
11 Possible sextet rhyming scheme  
15 More advanced in years  
16 Precursor of CIA  
18 Walking stick  
21 Latin possessive  
23 Initials for dominant group  
24 Bread spread  
25 German sea  
27 "\_\_\_\_\_ ye..."  
30 Sponge cake  
31 Buchman's less than moral group: Abbr.  
34 Leave!  
36 Wane

- 42 Flock  
43 Jai \_\_\_\_\_  
44 Unit of force  
46 Soviet region  
49 Courageous woman  
50 Fruit  
51 North Pole personage: Abbr.  
53 Building extensions  
57 Change  
58 After GRE  
60 Withered  
61 Formerly, formerly  
63 \_\_\_\_\_ de France  
64 Emoter  
65 Spanish cheer  
66 Inlet  
67 Tuberos root

## Turnabout

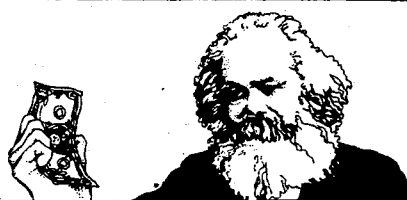
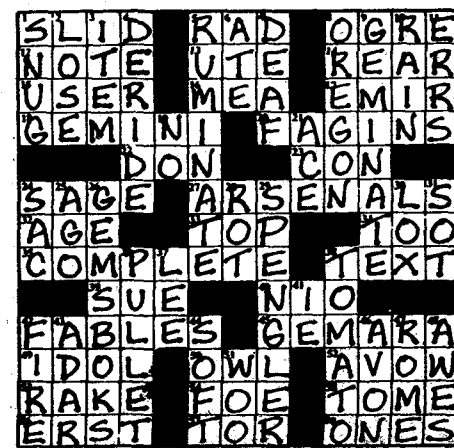
By David Mermelstein

### ACROSS

- 1 Mary's was little  
5 Short or deficient  
8 Being: Lat.  
12 One of the Great Lakes  
13 Golf ball's position  
14 Witchcraft  
17 Union or consumer tactic?  
19 Automotive turkeys  
20 Better than never  
21 Initials of U.S. speech assoc.  
22 Wynn and Kennedy  
23 Isle of \_\_\_\_\_  
26 Condition of some beds  
28 Pub drink  
29 Tree  
32 Idolizer  
33 Ecclesiastical seats  
35 Mineral  
37 French friend  
38 Pig, in St. Tropez  
39 Mad  
41 \_\_\_\_\_ roe
- 45 Unit of radiation dose  
47 Snake  
48 Wriggling  
49 Neckware  
52 Cockney's castle  
54 Was in the race  
55 Type of crab  
56 Canine movie star  
58 One kind of set  
59 Last Queen of Spain  
60 Hard or soft  
62 Making mistakes  
63 Academic discipline  
68 Exploited Oriental  
69 \_\_\_\_\_ Amatoria or Antigua  
70 Director Kazan  
71 Impending  
72 Encountered  
73 Paper quantity

### DOWN

- 1 Part of a journey



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# »SPORTSCENE«

## TITLE IX

# How you play the game

By Jim Ford

The College Football Association (CFA) is a confederation of some 60 universities with "big-time football programs." Last month at a conference in Irving, Texas, CFA's public relations firm told reps from the major college football factories that "momentum is moving our way" toward destroying Title IX. (Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments Act mandates sexual equality in schools and colleges that receive federal funds.)

For the past seven months the CFA has been the backbone of a coalition of 300 colleges and universities that has exerted tremendous pressure on Capitol Hill to obstruct further expansion of women's sports programs under Title IX. Now the foundation is laid for a no-holds-barred Congressional skirmish.

In spite of HEW's procrastination and seven years of anti-Title IX lobbying efforts, Title IX has made a difference. This year, more than 1.6 million girls played on high school teams, compared to 294,000 in 1970. In 1972, only 8 contestants entered New York's first all-woman mini-marathon, whereas 4,360 women entered the 12-mile race in 1978. At North Carolina State University, the budget for women's sports has increased from \$20,000 to 300,000 in the last four years, with scholarships rising from zero to 49. In 1973, the University of Michigan offered only intramural sports for women; this year 50 scholarships totalling \$100,000 were awarded. UCLA's current budget for women's sports is \$27,000; Yale opened its athletic purse strings to women this year, selling out more than \$600,000.

Margot Polivy, attorney for the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), is acknowledged by national feminist groups as the reigning expert on Title IX. "In 1972," said Polivy to *IN THESE TIMES*, "women's intercollegiate sports had 1 percent of the budget of men's. The best of women's programs are running between 15 percent and 18 percent of the men's programs on money. And on the average, women's programs are running about 10 percent."

### Muddy guidelines.

Ten percent of the bill still translates to 10 percent of the opportunity. Last December, buried under lawsuits, court orders and shifting political winds, HEW finally issued its long-awaited—and long-postponed—updated policy statement on the implementation of Title IX.

The new guidelines were little more than a muddled reinterpretation of a set of vague regulations issued in 1975, with one glaring exception. Intercollegiate football and basketball programs for men—commonly known as "revenue-producing sports"—were not exempted from HEW requirements that "substantially equal per capita expenditures" be the rule for all men's and women's sports programs.

In a clarifying statement on the guidelines last December (since reclarified in January and February), HEW Secretary Joseph Califano Jr. pointed out that a new "policy interpretation" excluded the so-called special and unique costs of big-time football and basketball before the calculation of average per capita expenditures was made. Califano said that, in the short term, a standard of "substantially equal per capita expenditures" must be met by educational institutions in order to be in compliance with the law unless they "can demonstrate that the differences are based on nondiscriminatory factors, such as the costs of special equipment (e.g., football) of a special sport or the scope of the competition (e.g., national rather than regional or local)."

In early January, CFA director Edmund P. Joyce (who spends his free time as executive vice president of the University of Notre Dame, chairman of the Faculty Board in Control of Athletics, and was the recipient of the 1977 Distinguished American Award from the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame), wrote in the *New York Times* sports op-ed page, "The specter of HEW regulations concerning Title IX...has the potential of being the most serious threat to intercollegiate football in its history."

Notwithstanding the Reverend Joyce's warnings, two days later delegates to the annual NCAA convention defeated a series of College Football Association proposals to limit financial aid—except in men's football and basketball—to tuition and mandatory fees. The proposals would have ended scholarships in the men's minor programs and in most, if not all, women's programs.

### Back-door assault.

But in early April, word filtered out about the existence of the anti-Title IX coalition of 300 colleges and universities spearheaded by the College Football Association and Rev. Joyce. Thanks to the hand-holding efforts of two former Congressmen with access to cloakrooms on Capitol Hill, as well as the press releases churned out by the Washington, D.C.-based de Hart Associates public relations firm, the coalition had made significant strides in gaining sympathy for big-time football and basketball in Congress and at HEW.

With rumors circulating around Washington that the coalition's friends in Congress were preparing to wage a back-door assault on Title IX by cutting back on the funds included in HEW's annual appropriations for implementation of Title IX, the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and other women's organizations called a Title IX alert. A national "Title IX Bake Sale" was announced to sponsor a march on Washington. rallies were called in New York, Massachusetts, Texas, Connecticut and Washington state. Near the end of April, women athletes held a demonstration across from

## Congress can stop progress in women's sports cold.

the White House and then stalked Congress' corridors for a week, telling their elected representatives to leave Title IX alone.

HEW's annual appropriations budget goes to Capitol Hill soon, and the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and other women's organizations have concentrated their recent lobbying efforts on the budget. The appropriations bill, however, is not where the anti-Title IX coalition has homed in.

The coalition has concentrated on diluting or repealing the December 1978 HEW guidelines that require equal per capita expenditures at the intercollegiate level. When those guidelines were announced, a 60-day period was available for response, after which the guidelines were to be reissued and take effect. The 60-day period ended in February, though no final guidelines have appeared. In the interim, the anti-Title IX coalition has called upon HEW to withdraw its guidelines and allow individual schools to develop their own programs for achieving sexual equality—which, incidentally, is what prompted the enactment of Title IX in the first place.

Vested interests have grown up around Title IX. Public schools live or die on federal grand money, some of which now funds women's sports programs; if funds are chopped the courts will be flooded with law suits.

But on April 3, HEW general counsel (in-house attorney) Peter Libassi stated (in an opinion to Califano that *ITT* has obtained a copy of) that the forthcoming final guidelines on Title IX fall under the definition of "regulations" contained in the General Education Provisions Act, and thus "should be sent to Congress" for approval. This opinion plays directly into the hands of the anti-Title IX coalition.

The timing of Libassi's opinion and its lack of distribution suggests deception. HEW staff members who were a part of the task force that developed the guidelines announced last December did not learn of Libassi's opinion until early June; until then they were of the impression that, once issued, the final Title IX guidelines would take immediate effect. While the anti-Title IX coalition has obviously been privy to the news for some time, not a single women's organization contacted for comment was aware that the final guidelines are going to Congress, which will then have 45 days to approve or disapprove the guidelines.

Floor amendments will also be introduced in the House of Representatives, to weaken Title IX provisions contained in higher education bills now under consideration by the House Post-Secondary Education Subcommittee.



Ida Fox is a Junior Varsity player in Poolesville, Md.

The worst scenario is grim. Congress' disapproval of HEW's final guidelines could bring the progress of women's college sports to a screeching halt. Big-time sports could continue to gobble up universities' athletic budgets. Congressional slashes of HEW's appropriations for Title IX would not only affect women's college sports programs, but could devastate public school girls' programs.

But the worst scenario is unlikely at the moment. In the current situation, Congress may send HEW back to develop another policy statement. A maneuver of this sort—called a compromise on Capitol Hill—would appease the anti-Title IX coalition and reduce the risk of alienating 52 percent of the citizenry.

HEW has paved the way for Congress to do a hatchet job on Title IX. In the past, HEW's guidelines or policy statements became effective upon final publication and did not require congressional approval.

State legislatures as well as school boards have also adopted laws conforming to—and, sometimes, exceeding—the non-discrimination provisions of federal laws. Two recent examples include the Minnesota State Senate, which in May approved a bill allowing girls to try out for boys' teams, even if there are separate teams for both sexes in the same sport. The Washington, D.C., School Board did likewise in April, and at the same time com-

mitted to equal expenditures for boys' and girls' sports.

Not every major college administration shares the reactionary tendencies of the anti-Title IX coalition. In May, Purdue University elevated women's volleyball to the status of a "revenue-producing" sport, a designation previously reserved to men's intercollegiate football and basketball. Women's college basketball is also going big-time quickly—too quickly, some sports activists say.

In fact, women's intercollegiate sports programs may soon be carbon copies of the worst elements of men's programs.

Finally, anti-Title IX forces may have to face the growing profits to be made in women's sports. In this age of television the three major networks have discovered that there is an audience for women's sports. This year the AIAW basketball and gymnastics championships were nationally televised for the first time under new network contracts. The rising network advertising receipts from the telecasts of women's sports reflect skyrocketing advertisers' sales. Adidas, one of the world's largest manufacturers of athletic goods, reports that sales in women's sports equipment have soared; last year women's shoe sales alone went up 63 percent.

Desiree Cooper helped research this article. Title IX supporters can contact *SPRINT* Hot-Line (toll-free), 800-424-5162.



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## AMERICAN HEROES

Mary Pickford (right, in *TAMING OF THE SHREW*) could add mischievous humor to her roles as "America's Sweetheart."



John Wayne created an all-American hero, who sided with the Union in *THE HORSE SOLDIERS* (inset) and who was killed in *THE COWBOYS* (left).

## Moral ambiguity in the West: The Duke's flickering legacy

By Morris Dickstein

The flood of articles about the death of John Wayne has already outstripped the drawn-out fascination with the expiring of Hubert Humphrey and may yet overtake the lamentations over Elvis Presley. All the obituaries agree with the U.S. Congress that there was something especially American about John Wayne. The articles quickly turn into nostalgic elegies for an old order of firm masculine virtues and uncomplicated moral solutions. But it takes an intelligent director to crystallize a great screen persona. And Wayne's best directors, Ford and Hawks, both grasped the ambiguity of the western myth as Wayne helped them to embody it.

We tend to remember Wayne as a bulky, aging prop of law and order, but when he burst on the scene in 1939 as the Ringo Kid in Ford's *Stagecoach*, he played an escaped convict determined to avenge the death of his father and brother. At the end of the film, his task accomplished, he takes off with a prostitute (Claire Trevor) for Mexico, "saved from the blessings of civilization."

American movies can boast few shots more exhilarating than our first sight of this young outlaw prince standing with his gun and gear in the path of the stagecoach, whose passengers form a microcosm of the social classes. The film deftly exposes its respectable characters as hypocrites, snobs, and even thieves. It endows outcasts like Wayne, Trevor and Thomas Mitchell with warmth and generous humanity, unstified by social bias. This is the populist Ford, who was soon to make *The Grapes of Wrath*, with its bleak images of dispossessed community. In *Stagecoach*, the western hero is not yet

obsolete, but an increasingly rigid society has little use for the individual values he represents.

### Conflicting values.

Wayne's next great western with Ford, *Fort Apache* (1948), the first film of the so-called cavalry trilogy, situates the actor in an even more anti-establishment context amid conflicting social values. Philip French wrote that Wayne "could never figure in a movie that demands much interior complexity in its hero; the complexity, if sought, must come from the film's structure, as in *The Searchers* and *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*." Ford relied on dual protagonists, coupling Wayne with Henry Fonda in *Fort Apache* and with Jimmy Stewart in *Liberty Valance*.

*Fort Apache* is surprisingly anti-military. Wayne understands and sympathizes with the Indians, speaks their language, and tries, above all, to keep peace, but Fonda, as the West Point-educated martinet, chooses disastrously to go by the book. Ford's deepest Irish loyalties are to native wisdom, family, community and personal honor; in his hands Wayne becomes the vehicle of these supple and tolerant values.

Wayne in *Fort Apache* is Ford's natural man. Yet he is also, like all Western heroes since Owen Wister's Virginian, a gentleman who lives by an intuitive code that makes society's rules seem stiff and arbitrary by comparison. Wayne's courtly treatment of Claire Trevor, his refusal to judge her by her social standing or past mistakes, as well as her help in delivering the child of an army wife who had shunned her, expose sanctimonious official morality.

Wayne's first western with Howard Hawks, *Red River*, in

1948, marks a subtle but decisive shift in the actor's screen personality. The unspoiled kid initiated into manhood in *Stagecoach* here becomes an aging but tenacious father-figure, set off against the boyish and sensitive Montgomery Clift, the adopted son he has groomed to inherit his cattle empire. The casual masculinity of *Fort Apache* has given way to a brutal toughness obsessed with

obedience to authority. Wayne has taken on the blind stubbornness of the Fonda character, but added his own new hyper-masculinity, while Clift inherited the earlier Wayne's reasonable tolerance.

Like Ford, Hawks never takes the western myth at its own face value; instead he exploits its moral ambiguity. He sees how self-reliance can devolve into paranoid isolation, how the law of the gun can legitimize arbitrary violence, how toughness can degenerate into crass brutality, how emotional restraint can cover emotional deadness, how strong leadership can lead on to un-

bridled power.

Those who criticize the western myth and say it led to Vietnam don't see how that myth, in the hands of its subtler creators, very early criticized itself. Those who attack John Wayne for his screen persona or his politics don't notice the darker shadings of his best roles, the ones for which he'll ultimately be remembered.

### Cowboy's fate.

Wayne later speculated that John Ford hadn't realized Wayne could act until he saw *Red River*. Very quickly he cast him as an older

*Continued on page 21*

## Pickford, the people's choice

By Al Auster

After her retirement Mary Pickford was approached by a producer and asked if she would give up her title as "America's Sweetheart" so he could use it for one of his up-and-coming young starlets. Mary's reply was, "It's not mine to give." Mary was more aware than any mogul that Mary Pickford wasn't someone the image-makers created—she was the star the people found.

There were stage stars (Ethel Barrymore, John Drew, Maude Adams), vaudeville stars (Eva Tanguay, Eddie Foy, Nora Bayes) and music halls stars (Lillian Russell, Weber and Fields, Fay Templeton) in those days—but no film stars. On the day in 1909 when Mary Pickford, who prided herself on being a Belasco actress, appeared on the steps of a brownstone on 14th Street that housed Biograph studios, she felt demeaned.

The people, attracted to the "galloping Tintypes" and "flickers" of the turn of the century, who flocked to the nickelodeons featuring ten to 20-minute two-reelers, were working people who wanted momentary escape from

their daily lives. Many were newly arrived immigrants who wanted some contact with this strange new culture.

Long before she became frozen into her Pollyanna mould, Mary Pickford had become "America's Sweetheart," because the roles she played spoke to her audiences' lives. In *Tess of the Storm Country* she faked a pregnancy to save someone else, in *Hearts Adrift* she had an illegitimate child, in *The Eternal Grind* she worked in a sweatshop, and in *Poor Little Rich Girl* she satirized the life of the rich. She was the child-woman who wouldn't take any guff (*Pride of the Clan*) and the working-class girl who wouldn't desert her class (*Amirily of Clothesline Alley*).

After World War I, the movie business changed and the big brokers of high finance and the imagemakers moved in. To make the medium more middle class, they erected picture palaces so magnificent that a cartoon of the period has a little boy asking his mother as they entered one, "Mother, is this the place God lives?" In this era, Mary became the child of movie legend.

Even within these strictures she added a dimension of mischievousness, humor and perversity.

She even injected a little black humor into Pollyanna. In one scene she catches a little fly and asks it, "Little fly, do you want to go to heaven?"—then squashes it and says, "Well, you have." In trying to escape her little girl roles, she often played dual parts, like the sickly heiress Stella and the crippled murderess-suicide Unity Blake in *Stella Maris*, or both the mother and son in *Little Lord Fauntleroy*.

This dimension finally killed "America's Sweetheart." Each time that, in films like *Rosita* and *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall*, she tried to escape, the industry brought her back—as *Little Annie Rooney*, or in *Sparrows*. Finally, in killing the little girl with scissors and a kiss in *My Best Girl*, she also killed her career.

In her later years, Mary Pickford lived as a recluse in her opulent mansion, Pickfair, the house she had shared with her second husband, Douglas Fairbanks, in their days as King and Queen of Hollywood. At one time it was rumored that she was going to have her old films destroyed. Fortunately, she had them restored instead. Mary knew that, like her title, they didn't belong to her but to the people who found her.



# Reggae rhythms mix with soul and disco



Inner Circle fuses disco and reggae.

With every rock band and its cousin doing an amphetamine-inspired version of a reggae song, how about a little of the real, home-grown Jamaican stuff?

Unfortunately, it's getting harder and harder for a U.S. reggae fan to find roots music on vinyl. After what was at best a half-hearted promotional effort, most American record companies have answered the question, "Can reggae make it in the U.S.?" with a resounding "No"—unless you're Bob Marley, have friends named Miller and Koolha, or cross-over into disco-reggae fusion.

Two new albums have been released recently in this country—Toots and the Maytals' *Pass the Pipe* (Mango Records) and Inner Circle's *Everything Is Great* (Island Records)—and they suggest the two alternatives facing reggae artists.

Toots Hibbert and his singing partners since 1961, Tony Martinias and Raleigh Gordon, have helped define the Jamaican sound, whether the music was called ska, rock steady or, eventually, reggae. Songs like "In the Dark," "54-46," and especially "Pressure Drop" are as fundamental to reggae as "Satisfaction" is to rock, and any new album by Toots and the Maytals deserves attention.

The soulful voice of Toots shapes all of the group's songs. More than any North American singer, Hibbert's rough, almost coarse tone is reminiscent of the greatest soul singer of all, Otis Redding. Like Redding, Toots was raised on gospel singing, and with the Maytals providing church choir-like harmonies, his voice rises and soars when he gets the feeling.

When Toots gets turned on (literally and figuratively) and the screams and shouts pour out of him, as they do on *Pass the Pipe*'s "No Difference Here" and "My Love Is So Strong," few singers live can get near him.

Unfortunately, most of the material on the new LP fails to

match Toots' best work. Songwriting has never been his forte, a problem shown clearly on his latest album, the disappointing *Reggae Got Soul*.

The new songs may not be equal to the ability of the singers who perform them, but they are conduits for Toots and the Maytals' infectious joyful vocals. And reggae that still sticks to the basic rhythms that have made the music so enticing to its fans doesn't come along very often these days.

The problem isn't in the slicker production techniques used by Peter Tosh on *Bush Doctor* or Bob Marley and the Wailers on *Rastaman Vibration*, *Kaya* and even some earlier albums. Regardless of the relative strengths and weaknesses of

these albums, their material was still definably reggae.

## Disco fusion.

Third World's disco-reggae fusion on last year's "Now That We've Found Love" pointed the way in a different direction. Aimed squarely at the white and black North American pop market, Third World's reworking of the old Gamble and Huff song provided the commercial breakthrough eagerly desired.

Jacob Miller and his band, Inner Circle, have obviously been watching these developments, and *Everything Is Great* fuses disco and reggae more thoroughly than ever before. Both the group and lead singer Miller, who has also had Jamaican hits ("Ten-

ement Yard") as a solo performer, have been popular in Jamaica since 1973, but neither Miller's own album nor the group's two U.S. LPs attracted much attention here.

The elements of Inner Circle's conversion to disco-reggae are combining reggae bass and rhythm guitar lines with a disco drum beat, fuzz-toned "Hendrix-style" lead guitar fills and hi-tech keyboard (organ and ARP synthesizer swooshes).

Though most of the cuts on *Everything Is Great* attempt to blend reggae and disco, "We 'A' Rockers" comes closest to a "reggae" song, utilizing standard reggae rhythms. "Mary, Mary," quite contrarily, has barely a hint of reggae left, rely-

ing instead on an ultra-chic production similar to that associated with the Euro-disco group, Boney M.

Inner Circle is explicit about the aim of *Everything Is Great* on the last cut, called "I've Learned My Lesson." Miller recounts how he's done his time, paid his dues, and now he's got "gold records on my mind...I just want to make it." Making it, he states clearly, means appearing on U.S. TV shows such as *Midnight Special* and *American Bandstand*.

## Always hybrid.

But before everyone cries "Cultural imperialism," a few considerations are in order. Though reggae is a distinctively Jamaican product, it has never been a pristine type of music. North American soul, particularly New Orleans R&B (based, in part, on radio accessibility to Jamaica) has always exerted a strong influence, along with gospel, other Caribbean, rock and African music. Jamaican musicians have repeatedly used soul and rock sounds—first by simply covering them with a reggae version, then by creating their own definable hybrid.

Since disco is the sound most often coming across the international airwaves these days, it shouldn't come as a surprise that reggae musicians are influenced by it. It should also produce little shock to learn that Jamaican musicians, with the exception of the most orthodox, anti-commercial Rastafarians, desire the financial success available in the U.S. and Great Britain.

Reggae's influence on Anglo-American rock grows more noticeable all the time, as newer groups, such as the Police, Joe Jackson, John Hiatt and the Clash, borrow its rhythms to great advantage. A similar cross-cultural pollination between disco and reggae could, likewise, produce a beautiful flowering of a new fusion music.

The loss would be if the rootsier music of Toots and the Maytals disappeared in the disco-reggae shuffle. ■

## Wayne

continued from page 24.

an on his last Indian campaign. *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), as a tough, wayward, but inwardly tender husband and father in *Rio Grande* (1950), and most memorably as an ex-soldier with a shady past in *The Searchers* (1956).

In *The Searchers*, relentlessly on avenging the murder of his brother's family, he tracks the Indian culprits for years with Indian ferocity, and nearly kills his kidnapped niece—the object of his quest—when he finds that she has been turned into an Indian squaw, sexually dishonored.

Wayne never played a figure more isolated, more pathologically obsessed, more driven by hatred. Yet the character still lives within the terms of the western code. A hero, he's someone who must finally be thwarted and freed from himself, just as he is in *Red River*. When this brooding, steel-cold, unapproachable man takes his niece in his arms instead of killing her, it's one of the magical moments of the American cinema, though miles away from the first unspotted apparition of the Ringo Kid in *Stagecoach*. Vengeance and violence have become as problematic as Wayne's personality. Society now administers "justice" and violence more impersonally; the individuality of the western hero

has become both troublesome and irrelevant.

This last chapter of the cowboy's fate is a story told in many late westerns, but nowhere better told than in Ford's last great film, *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962). The story begins with preparations for Wayne's funeral: the plot is a flashback from a more modern and civilized west in which he no longer has a place. Only a few people remember him from his better days. A gawky Jimmy Stewart plays a transplanted Easterner whom Wayne had protected, but whose fortune rose as Wayne's declined. The territory has become a state, the tenderfoot has won the girl they both loved and become the new state's first senator, though his success derives from the forgotten man's prowess with a gun—it was Wayne, not Stewart, who secretly shot the vicious Liberty Valance. By saving Stewart's life and launching his career, by ridding the town of its last lawless men,

Wayne, like all western heroes, initiated his own extinction and prepared the way for the rule of law that made him unnecessary a nuisance. The western—and its hero—not only perform their own critique but write their own elegy.

John Wayne was indeed a nuisance in his last years, when he became a willing symbol of the know-nothing right, an American caricature. But he executed the downward curve of his own personal legend with a lumbering but unshakeable dignity.

He didn't understand much, but he understood his screen personality well, and played out its gruff ambiguities to the hilt. "I played parts men could identify with," he once said. "Although my characters might do cruel or rough things, they were never mean or petty."

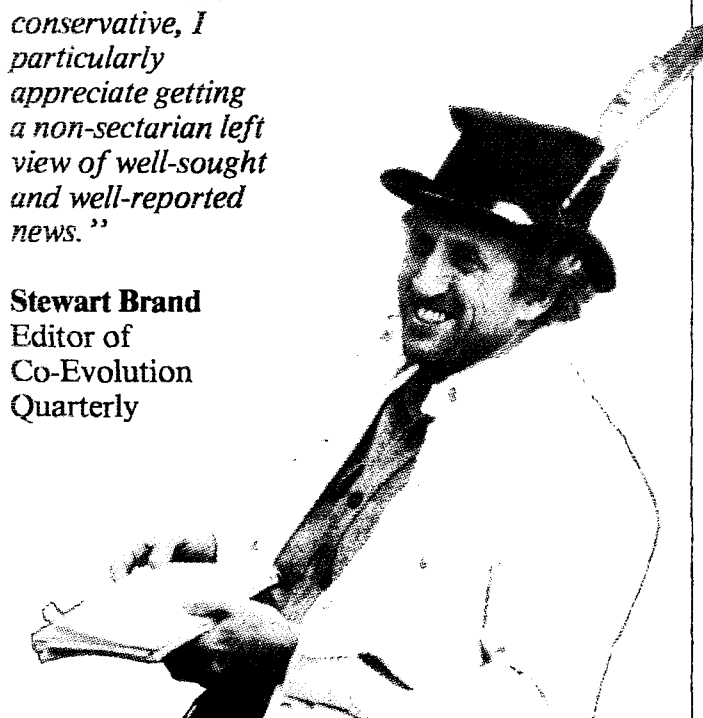
Neither was he.

Morris Dickstein is the author of *Gates of Eden: American Culture in the Sixties* (Basic) and co-editor of *Great Film Directors* (Oxford).

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# BACBALK

## Narcissism and feminism



By Lew Friedland  
and Stephanie Engel

While John Judis' article, "Narcissism," (ITT, May 23), was a reasoned presentation of Christopher Lasch's views, his criticisms were weak and unfocused. The major issue, Lasch's theoretical attack on feminism, was never raised, in spite of the fact that feminist authors such as Wini Breines, Margaret Cerullo, Judith Stacey and others have presented a pointed criticism of Lasch to which he has angrily and defensively responded.

Lasch's use of the term "narcissism" itself is an uncritical revival of Freud's original distinction between self-love and object-love (loving someone or something other than oneself), used to construct a female psychology as aberrant from the male norm. Freud said that women have a greater tendency toward narcissism and difficulty in achieving true object love.

The attack on "psychology constructing the female" has been a cornerstone of modern feminist theory, beginning with the earliest writing of the women's movement (Naomi Weisstein, Shulamith Firestone) and continuing through the work done by feminist theorists of psychoanalysis (Nancy Chodorow, Juliet Mitchell, Jessica Benjamin, Dorothy Dinnerstein). This fact is never mentioned by Judis, much less used as a standard to criticize or evaluate Lasch's argument.

The uncritical revival of the concept of narcissism serves to label as "pathological" feminism, the gay liberation movement and, by extension, any movement for cultural transformation that doesn't hark back to a bourgeois family that never existed. Judis' assertion that Lasch shares the "goals" of the feminist movement is spurious, unless these goals are so narrowly defined as to include only the essential political demands of the movement: passage of the ERA, adequate day care, unrestricted abortion (and it is not clear where Lasch does stand on all of these issues). Surely many of those who have been active in the movement would see non-hierarchical personal relations and political forms, alternatives in child rearing and education, the transformation of sexual norms, including the heterosexual injunction itself, as positive goals.

Lasch's theory of narcissism rests on an unacknowledged misogyny combined with a nostalgia for an autonomous (male) ego that never existed for any but a handful of privileged white men (if at all). The feminist critique of psychoanalysis is a minimal condition for the appropriation of insights into the transformation of personality and new forms of state "pater-nalism."

### John Judis replies:

Some responses to one's work make one think and reconsider. Others just rankle. This one rankles.

It employs a rhetorical style that I would call "sexism-baiting." The authors assert that Lasch's *Culture of Narcissism* is a theoretical attack on feminism. Except for one chapter, the book does not discuss feminism. It is an attack, if anything, on a panoply of cultural trends—from the paternalism of the welfare state to the current fascination with celebrities. *Haven in a Heartless World*, Lasch's previous book, was an attack on a contested strand of feminist thought, having to do with the family, but it was not an attack on feminism. I was not writing about *Haven*.

Friedland and Engel imply that there is a single body of thought called feminism. If one deviates from this body of thought, one is wrong or wicked. This method of argument is scriptural, not political.

Friedland and Engel also seem unaware that some of the feminist authors they cite in illustrating Lasch's perfidy share Lasch's approach. Juliet Mitchell in *Feminism and Psychoanalysis* constructs a psychology of women based on Freud. Other authors like Barbara Easton ("Feminism and the Contemporary Family," *Socialist Review*, # 39) have a Lasch-like view of the family and sexual politics. None of this establishes that Lasch is right, only that he cannot be faulted on the basis of whether he agrees with what Friedland

and Engel describe as "feminism."

Friedland and Engel fault the concept of narcissism because Freud used it elaborating a sexist view of women. Again, the method is wrong here—concepts may be used unsuccessfully by certain authors and still have a relevance—but the view of Freud is also wrong. Freud's primary error lay in confusing the socialization of women with their biological fate. As a description of their socialization, Freud's theory is at least defensible, as Mitchell shows.

Lasch's work does include or imply a critique of certain forms of feminism and gay liberation, as well as of liberalism and infantile new leftism. Are these movements so pristine that they cannot be criticized? There was certainly some rationality in Weatherman, Eldridge Cleaver's Christianity, the concept of a lesbian nation, the elevation of communal life to a higher good, the disgust felt toward the "straight world," and the belief that the accretion of lifestyle changes could make the revolution, but there was also an element of irrationality that is dangerous to ignore.

Friedland and Engel display a simple faith in their own convictions. They view the world as cause-and-effect rationality. They see heterosexuality as an "injunction" (decreed by a wicked judge) and they want human beings to bend their ways toward what they, in their few years on earth, divine as the path toward salvation. But it isn't so easy, as Lasch tries to show.

## CULTURE SHOCK

### MIXED REVIEWS

A research project conducted by the fourth largest U.S. advertising agency on women's attitudes toward men reveals that 47 percent of the women surveyed think "men have changed for the worse"—lacking courtesy and being irresponsible. Only 45 percent think they

have changed for the better, with more liberal and open-mindedness and equalitarian treatment of women.

### A DRUG ON THE MARKET

Yves St. Laurent's Opium perfume advertising campaign is being revamped, with a name change in mind. Protesters have held that the name insults Chinese people

and other racial groups. The original ad, by the way, was designed by a Paris agency named Mafia.



## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

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## DOCUMENTARY

# An American's journey on Highway 1

By Pat Aufderheide

*Vietnam: An American Journey* is a made-for-TV documentary with a ready-made reputation. It's the first film made in Vietnam by Americans since the end of the war. It's the first film covering the entire length of Highway 1, from Hanoi to Ho Chi Minh City. And it's the first time anyone in the U.S. will be able to hear and see a survivor of the My Lai massacre tell an American how she survived.

The man who made the film, Bob Richter, is a pro-25 years in the business, with awards from Dupont, Peabody, Columbia Journalism and an Emmy. He's worked at CBS for five years (on the *Edward R. Murrow/Fred Friendly Reports*), and also for ABC. Now he's working on a *Nova* program about toxic chemicals for PBS.

It's a hot topic, and the product is good. So you'd think this film would end up on television. You'd be wrong. One network has turned down the documentary, two others won't consider it, and public television is—as is its habit—still considering.

Richter's not mystified by the shut-out. But he's sure that the public needs some of the information independents like him have to offer.

He's not alone in his complaints about the paucity of access for independent documentarists to public air time. The horror stories are there for the asking. With commercial networks it's simple. Their hands-off policy on independent work (and their reluctance to give over much air time to "hard" documentaries of their own) is notorious.

PBS is infamous for playing footsie with independents. Works by individual independents account for only 4 percent of all public programming. And when PBS takes independent work—at all-time bargain basement rates—it can hold them for showing indefinitely. PBS stations finally ran *Milhouse*, for instance, in 1976, although it was made in 1971. *I.F. Stone's Weekly* waited three years after its production in 1973 to be seen on the small screen. In fact, the three agents involved in the public network—PBS, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and the Ford Foundation—have been described as the Bermuda Triangle of independent producers. (The latest *Televisions*, a quarterly, has a solid, if dry, summary of funding of and production by independents on public television.)

Independents don't usually depend on networks, public or private, to support them. According to an NEA study, 96 percent of all documentary filmmakers make their living some other way. Richard Leacock teaches at MIT, Marcel Ophüls is on staff at ABC, and the Maysles brothers live off commercials and industrial films.

Independents also search out alternative ways to support their filmmaking and to influence the existing abysmal situation. In September 1978 some of the leading independent filmmakers—including the Maysles brothers, Donn Pennebaker and Saul Landau—filed a \$180 million anti-trust suit against the commercial networks. If won, the suit would also ban networks from owning or pro-

ducing news or public affairs documentaries. That suit is now in its second stages, in federal district court. The Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers, among others, have submitted proposals for more equitable distribution of money and air-time to PBS.

Independent networks for production and distribution are also being established. The Film Fund, designed to pool funding resources for filmmakers with social concerns, now exists. Filmmakers Jack Willis, Saul Landau and Penny Bernstein have established their own non-profit distribution organization for their products, including the film *Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang*.

When he started, Richter knew what the odds were. He bet on his connections with the networks, and he lost—this time around. Meanwhile, his film is scheduled for theatrical release in New York this summer.

## Vietnam travelog.

Is the film worth watching? Yes. It's a forthright, unpretentious, ungarnished account of a filmmaker's journey down Highway 1. But that's all it is. Sometimes its approach looks prosaic to a fault, and the narration is, at times, leadfooted.

Nevertheless, the film tells Richter's story competently. He shows us that the North, particularly Hanoi, shows few outward signs of having suffered the ravages of war, and that aesthetic and reconstructive activities flourish. (Particularly stunning are pictures of young couples on holiday outings in a park. You suddenly realize there isn't any place in your repertoire of Vietnam stereotypes for summer afternoon dates.) He contrasts those



scenes with shots from Ho Chi Minh City, where poverty and black marketeering scar an already brutalized landscape.

He stops along the North-South journey at Bach Mai hospital, at Da Nang, My Lai and at a massively bombed major battle site. He reports the battery of systems Vietnamese have developed to cope with war injuries: physical rehab centers for amputees; orphanages; schools for the deaf; centers for ex-prostitutes.

And he shows us the war buildup on the borders. Here, as throughout, he declines either to accept or to challenge the information of his Vietnamese hosts, instead showing you what they showed him and commenting on the possibility of bias.

Slowly he builds his case: the Vietnamese are reconstituting an economically viable society; they

face huge costs in paying for the damage Americans wrought; both business and moral sense, therefore, demand we resume trade with them and pay reparations.

The film dramatically reminds us of what we have rarely understood: that real people lived at the other end of all those military flights. It shocks us that we are shocked by a peacetime Vietnam. Although the travelog style transmits a sense of meeting another complex culture, perhaps an in-depth study of a single family would have been more effective.

The film's simple style shocks almost as much as the content. We realize by contrast the sophistication with which most commercial networks' documentaries present point-of-view as if it were objectivity. This film is unabashedly personal, using "I" rather than a 60-*Minutes*-style

corporate "we" or a neatly-distanced third person. It's also chest-baringly honest; Richter begins by showing us how he checked the accuracy of translation by his government hosts.

That simplicity isn't always charming. It can become no more than the stolid recounting of a well-intentioned foreigner who came to see the outside of how things work. But *Vietnam: An American Journey* is still a better deal than your run-of-the-mill "soft" documentary that starves you for facts. At least here all the information is presented responsibly, without inflated claims, and the information is intriguing.

It should be on television. But don't count on seeing it there. **■** *Vietnam: An American Journey* is available from Richter-McBride Productions, 150 E. 52 St., NYC 10022.

## Bob Richter, independent filmmaker

By Pat Aufderheide

### Why did the Vietnamese accept your project?

It was at a point where, I think, the Vietnamese felt that America could be allowed to go back in and see what had happened. There's so much bitterness that they have not been comfortable with Americans coming in with cameras and saying, "What happened here?"

The Vietnamese make a separation between the American government and the people. Some are conciliatory, but some are hostile, and had to be persuaded to talk to us, by our official committee. Some couldn't be persuaded. People would say, "Don't even stay here. Out. No water. Go home."

I was not personally involved in the anti-war movement. I co-produced a documentary about Vietnam as an emerging national issue in 1966, and I went to a few marches. But I wasn't a leader.

Before I left, I talked to Vietnamese in this country, to anti-war people, to authors and experts. I consulted the American Friends Service Committee, the Church World Service, Clergy and Laity Concerned. I talked to Frances Fitzgerald, author of *Fire in the Lake*. And I talked to Don Luce, and to Cora Weiss, who

was very helpful in making it possible for me to get in.

### Why do you think so much art—books, films, theater—now deals with the subject of Vietnam?

We've been living with this nightmare for a long time. People are beginning to feel that they can talk about it and see it. All of it that's come out so far, though, in feature films, has been the American experience of the war, the American legacy of the war. Mine is a film about the legacy of the war from the other side.

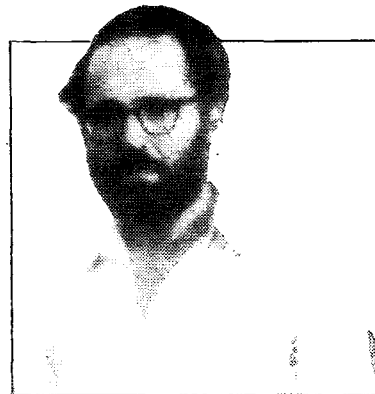
### What surprised you most when you went to Vietnam?

I thought I would find Hanoi visibly devastated, that the tragedy of war would be on their faces. But that wasn't the case. Hanoi has largely been rebuilt.

And I thought I would be more controlled about what I could film. I was able to set up my itinerary and extend and expand it. Instead of taking four weeks, we stayed seven.

They were not wholly honest with me, of course. They did not want to show me the side of the dissenters. When I arrived they told me that reeducation camps no longer exist, but by the time I left, provincial officials in the south said, "Oh yes, we still have some people in camps."

I wish they would have let me



Bob Richter.

talk to some people there, but I think, too, those people would have been afraid to talk to me. I talked to refugees in Hong Kong after I left.

### How did you approach the networks with your project?

At the time, I was working for ABC and I hoped I would be able to interest them in the program. I was a contract freelance producer on a show about hostages and terrorism. But they decided to see if they could get their own people instead. People reported back to me, "Your own network is double-crossing you."

They didn't get in, and then CBS, for whom I had worked for five years, said, "We don't have outside people produce documentaries for us. But if you do go, get us some news and we'll give you raw footage to cover some costs." But I was interested in doing a

documentary, not news for them.

Then NBC said they would pay my way, but they uncommitted themselves, because they managed to "sneak in"—as they put it—one of their own correspondents posing as a sound recordist with a Japanese left-wing news crew.

This fellow went to Vietnam for a month and came back with a number of two and three-minute stories. He also revealed after he came back that he and his network agreed not to do a documentary because it might "arouse sentiment" in the American people about what had happened in that country.

### Is it typically difficult to get independent material on the networks?

If you want to get a film on public television that you made independently, it's easier now than it used to be, but it's still pretty tough. You have to go through a station or through an authority of some kind, a non-profit organization. A lot of good stuff doesn't get on the air in public television.

It never gets on the air with commercial television: commercial television puts on their own stuff, because, they claim, they're responsible for their own product. They have decided that is their policy—which they are free to change. **■**



# DYING TO WORK

## Occupational Cynicism Plagues Chemical Workers

By Daniel Ben-Horin

**M**ARVIN HAD BEEN DRINKING beer steadily for four hours. Sober, he's a pussycat; now, the frustration was seeping out. After seven years of handling corrosive, caustic and carcinogenic chemicals, the skin on his hand looks like a leather glove. With one pickled finger, he marked time on my chest and spoke slowly:

"Listen what I'm telling you. It's all politics. Everyone can be bought. You can be bought. Josh can be bought. Dave can be bought. Listen, am I wrong? Tell me I'm wrong and I'll kick your butt."

Marvin's attention wandered, his eyes a sea of confusion. In the media, occupational health seems a clear-cut pitting of opposing values. But on the shop floor, for Marvin and many other American workers, the issues are muddled. Is a job in the hand worth a cancer down the road? It's the kind of question that breeds cynicism, particularly for Marvin that night in that blue-collar bar in Lathrop, a small town in the San Joaquin Valley east of San Francisco.

Four hours earlier, his first after-work Budweiser in hand, Marvin had joined his fellow Occidental Chemical Company—"Oxy"—workers at the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union hall, for a premiere showing of the film, *Song of the Canary* (reviewed *ITT*, Dec. 6, 1978). Filmmakers Josh Hanig and Dave Davis manned the projector and eagerly awaited the audience's reaction.

Half the film concerns the situation of cotton and mill workers in the Carolinas. The other half is about becoming sterile now and cancerous later because you've been handling an insecticide called DBCP in "Oxy's" Agricultural Chemicals Department in Lathrop.

The "DBCP sterility scandal," as it is known, has become an international front page story. Sterile workers have been found in Arkansas and Mexico, as well as in California. DBCP regulations have since been imposed, and are being contested by agribusiness interests.

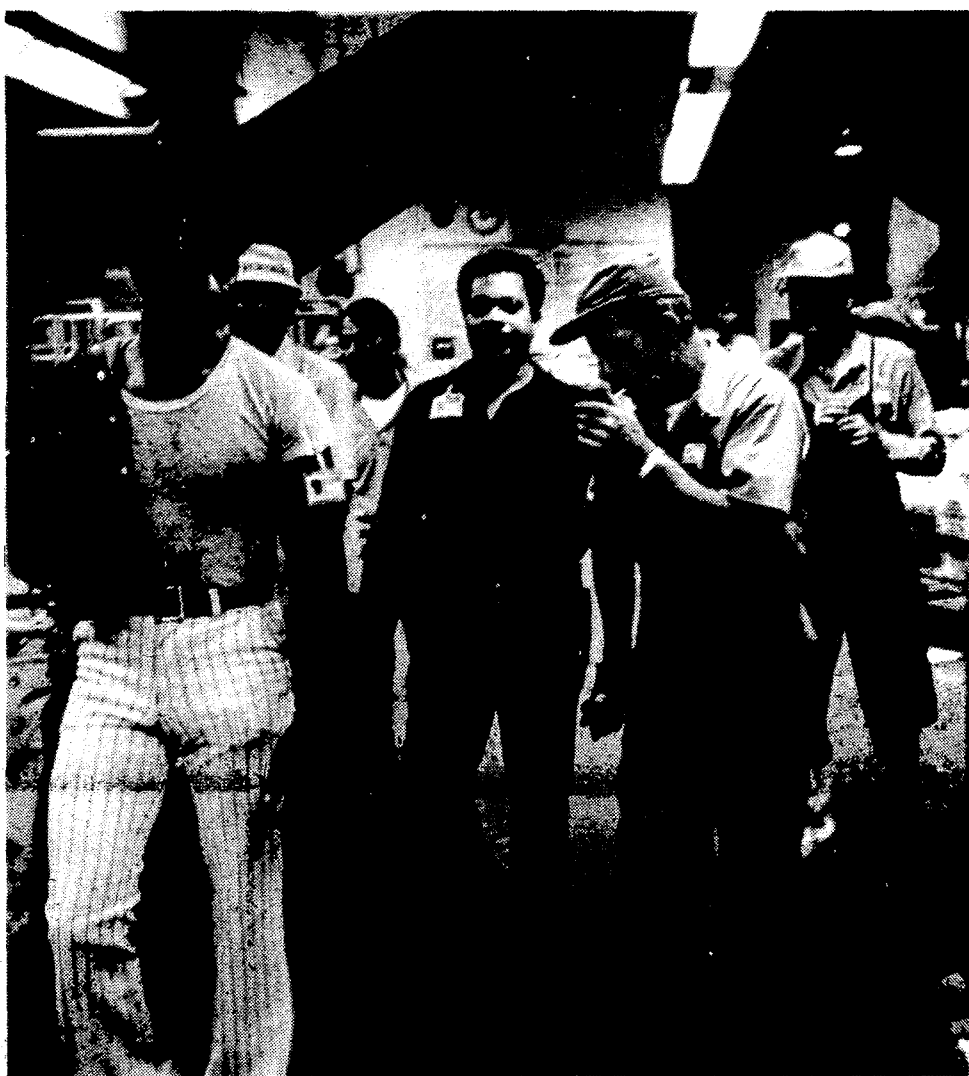
### Home movie.

On the screen, Marvin and his co-workers spoke angrily and purposefully. But watching the film, they were edgy and distracted. They moved around the room restlessly, hooting at each other's screen presence. It seemed like a typical home movie response, except the hoots and cat-calls were more bitter than funny. And the home movie was about sterility and death.

After the final credits, Hanig and Davis received a blizzard of compliments, but very little feedback. "Great movie, great movie," Marvin said quickly, and filed out, as did most of the others.

These were men Hanig and Davis had come to know well during the course of filming, men whom they had heard express themselves at length on occupational safety in general and their workplace in particular. Puzzled at the terse reactions, the filmmakers decided to check their impressions with Jack Hodges, chief steward of the "Oxy" OCAW local.

A 20-year Navy veteran, Hodges is stoical, tenacious, a believer in due proc-



## *Song of the Canary* whistles in the dark for these workers

ess. Within the OCAW local he has the complete backing of older workers. But there is a stylistic gap between him and some of the younger workers, which seems to boil down to the gap between Hodges' fundamental belief in the political system, and the younger workers' distrust of just about everything.

Asked about the audience's response, Hodges chose his words carefully. "Well, they went through that crisis and now it's over. About all you hear about DBCP is, 'How's the lawsuit going?'"

What about all the militancy expressed in the film? Is it still present? Hodges replied indirectly, speaking about DBCP's replacement coming from Israel, about left-over DBCP being shipped to the Philippines, about non-union chemical plants in the same San Joaquin Valley breathing down Occidental's neck—and, indirectly, down the union's neck in every contract negotiation. Methodically pushing a broom across the union hall floor, Hodges said, "It all comes under your politics, and that becomes a very complicated thing. I don't know where you start. Maybe your congressman. I don't know."

### Angry reactions.

Two weeks later, Hanig showed his film for a group of non-unionized chemical workers in San Jose. As the screening ended, Mike, one of the workers, reacted angrily. "If I got screwed up and I didn't get a large cash settlement, I'd take care

of it myself or hire someone. The government and OSHA is shit."

The other workers laughed. Mike was their individualistic deep end. They were older than he, less caught up in macho daydreams. Mike's approach was fantasy material to them, but so was the idea of government intervention.

These workers' days are spent purifying—"running," they call it—chemicals that companies like "Oxy" are through with. Often, they stick their faces into huge vats of chemicals and inhale deeply. As one of them put it, "We use our noses to figure out what the hell is in there. You smell until you get high, and then you walk away till your head clears."

"In there" are chlorinated solvents that have been linked to cancer and liver damage. The men have a paternalistic plant owner who has instituted profit-sharing and who says, "If DDT doesn't hurt flies, it won't hurt you."

The plant owner's homilies notwithstanding, the men say their hands always burn and when they're away from the plant for any length of time their skin peels continuously. One of the workers, Hank, was recently diagnosed as having bone cancer. The company has offered him a settlement.

The men praised the film, but their reactions were muted. Mostly, they seemed interested in figuring ways to construe their own situation as tolerable.

"Hank got it from benzene," one of

the men said, "and we don't run benzene anymore."

"Damn, there's benzene in hexene, and you run that every day," another responded. A ten-year chemical worker named Ben offered an out: "We have safety stuff. It's our choice whether to use it."

"Joe uses it. He goes by the book."

"What do you think about that?" Hanig inquired. There was a pause. The men grinned.

"Joe's a pain in the ass," Ben snapped, and everyone laughed.

### Danger and jobs.

Most of all, the men seem to feel trapped. In 1977, California passed a law shifting the burden of liability for occupational disease from the employer at the time the disease was incurred to the employer at the time the illness became symptomatic. But determining exactly when a cancer was incurred can be highly difficult.

To workers like those who watched *Song of the Canary*, the law will make job-seeking a whole lot harder—especially if they are older and have a history of working in dangerous places, such as chemical plants.

"Why don't we ask Hans (the plant owner) for a full safety inspection at the plant?" one of the San Jose men asked, as the session drew to a close.

"Hell, why don't we just get Hans to let us show OSHA the way it is, without covering up?" suggested another.

"OSHA doesn't deserve it," said Mike, the deep-ender. Once again the men laughed.

For Josh Hanig, showing the film to working class audiences has been sometimes exhilarating but more often a reminder of how deeply enmeshed occupational danger is in the fabric of American industrial life.

"If there's an organizing effort going on around health and safety," Hanig said, "then the reaction to the film is totally positive. Workers are charged up by it; they see it as a tool they can use to help their case and it increases their militance."

"But in other cases, in most cases, there's enormous fatalism. Workers understand perfectly well what makes this economic system tick. They know their health is, in effect, a line in the budget, just like equipment, just like advertising, just part of the competitive balance."

In some ancient societies, they used to kill the bearers of bad news. Dr. Molly Coye, head of the new Workers' Clinic at San Francisco General Hospital, recently saw a modern variant of this practice.

According to Coye, a group of chemical workers told her that "the other people in the plant called them radicals because they put on respirators when they handled the proven carcinogen benzene."

Coye added: "If you've been handling benzene without a respirator every day for ten years and didn't know it was dangerous, and then people tell you to start wearing a respirator, it certainly contributes to cynicism."

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)

*Song of the Canary* is available from P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417. The film on June 1 won first prize in its category at the American Film Festival in New York.